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*Demeter, seeking her daughter
Persephone, stopped to rest by
a village well . . .*



Eleusis And the Eleusinian Mysteries

"To the sea, O Mystae!"

George E. Mylonas

ELEUSIS lies fourteen miles to the west of Athens by the blue waters of the Aegean and at the extreme southwestern end of the Thriasian plain, a pleasant, verdant valley filled with gardens. Today Eleusis is a small village; in antiquity it was one of the most important religious centers of the pagan world. In the mythological past, almost four thousand years ago, around its craggy hill a family drama came to a happy ending, and to that event Eleusis owes its fame and prosperity.

ACCORDING to the tradition so wonderfully related in the Homeric Hymn, Demeter,

Goddess of Agriculture and the ordered life, in her quest for Persephone wandered to Eleusis and stopped to rest by the village well. There she was found by the daughters of Keleos, the ruling prince of Eleusis, and was persuaded to stay in the princely palace and to undertake the bringing up of the infant Damophoon. In that palace, when her efforts to make the child immortal were interrupted by the curiosity and the fright of the queen, the goddess disclosed her identity, and ordered the Eleusinians to build a temple and an altar for her below their steep citadel. Shortly afterwards, filled with joy at her reunion with Persephone, Demeter instructed the leaders of Eleusis in the performance of her rites. Thus the cult of Demeter was introduced to Eleusis by the goddess herself.

Unlike other pagan religious rites, the cult of Demeter was not open to the general public, but to the chosen few who were properly initiated following the ritual prescribed by Demeter herself. Consequently, the cult came to be known as the mysteries of Demeter, or the Eleusinian mysteries. A local cult originally, it gradually spread beyond the narrow confines of Eleusis and the Thriasian plain, and in historic times, when the village became part of the Athenian Commonwealth, it became a Panhellenic institution. When later

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on the cult was adopted by the Romans it enjoyed universal reverence.

The growth in popularity of the cult was naturally followed by a continuous though gradual expansion of the sacred precinct. The original small temple of Demeter gave place to a larger structure and that in turn to others even larger, and their peribolos kept expanding so as to include larger and ever larger areas. Great political leaders, such as Peisistratos, Kimon, Pericles, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and others, erected marble structures in honor of the goddess, and her precinct became crowded with the votive offerings of grateful initiates. Resplendent the sanctuary of Eleusis remained until the immortal gods were expelled from Olympus by the rising faith of our Saviour, and until Zeus laid his head for eternal rest on the stony summit of Mount Juktas in Crete. It was then, perhaps at the beginning of the sixth century of our era, that its walls were razed to the ground, that its monuments were destroyed by the orders of the early Christian Fathers, who considered the sanctuary as the very seat of Satan. A portion of its area was then transformed into a cemetery, but even that was soon abandoned to its fate and the sanctuary was buried below a deep accumulation of debris and mud.

Forgotten the temenos of Demeter remained for centuries and until 1882, when the Greek Archaeological Society began to excavate its remains.¹ Year after year the Greek excavators labored among its ruins until the entire area was cleared. Through their efforts Eleusis, the great sanctuary of Demeter, indeed has been brought back to light and life; but instead of marble buildings and rich shrines the present-day visitor will find a maze of foundations and broken stones which will bring to his mind the picture of the fallen giants of mythology. Today silence and desolation reign over the area which once resounded with the paeans and the rejoicing of grateful initiates; today the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis seems completely dead.

And yet in the days of the Olympian Gods people from all over the civilized world, men, women, and children—free men and women untainted by crime—even slaves, aspired to

be initiated into its mysteries and annually flocked to the sanctuary of Eleusis. Not only simple peasants but even the leaders of thought and politics were anxious to take part in the rites. A preliminary initiation of the *mystae* to the "minor mysteries" at Agrae, a suburb of Athens, preceded by six months their participation in the Eleusinian rites. For those rites a number of days were spent at Athens in earnest preparation. On the fourteenth day of Boedromion (September), in the famous Poecile Stoa of Athens, the great priest of Eleusis, the *hierophant*, read the "proclamation," an event that marked the beginning of the "*telete*" (initiation). "Everyone who has clean hands and intelligible (Greek) speech," "he who is pure from all pollution and whose soul is conscious of no evil and who has lived well and justly," the proclamation stated, could proceed with the initiation; the rest should abstain.

Then followed lustrations and purifications in the sea (the famous cry of "Halade, Mystae—to the sea, O Mystae" became emblematic of the Eleusinian rites), the purification and sacrifice of a sucking pig whose blood was sprinkled on the candidates purifying them further, fasting, and some indoctrination. Finally, in the forenoon of the nineteenth day of Boedromion, the initiates were started on their procession from the Pompeion of Athens. That procession was one of the most spectacular religious events of the ancient world, and in many respects it resembled the processions through the streets of modern Athens on the night of Good Friday. Dressed in festal clothes, crowned with wreaths, and holding great torches, the initiates, led by the priests of Eleusis and the Eleusinian "*sacra*," left Athens and, following the Sacred Way, marched to Eleusis singing and rejoicing. The outer court of the sanctuary at Eleusis was not reached until midnight, because many a stop had to be made on the way before the altars, shrines, and sanctuaries which flanked the Sacred Way. Outside the sanctuary area a multitude of booths, hostleries, baths, etc., stood ready to cater to the needs of the initiates.

Remains of these establishments were

brought to light in the excavations of 1930-1931. In the same year we excavated the oldest-known settlement of Eleusis. It is located on the southern slope of the Eleusinian hill and belongs to the Middle Helladic period, i.e. to the Middle Bronze Age.² Foundations of apsidal houses, graves, and a multitude of small objects were uncovered, proving that by 2000 B.C. the Eleusinian hill was already inhabited. From that remote date to the present people have lived uninterruptedly on this pine-clad hill.

However, no evidence was uncovered proving that the rites of Demeter were celebrated in the Middle Helladic era, and it seems that these rites were introduced in the ensuing Late Helladic period. In that period the settlement was moved to the top of the Eleusinian hill, and in its extreme northeastern end its remains were uncovered in 1934. (FIGURE 1: FRONTISPIECE). The most impor-

tant of these remains—foundations of houses, perhaps even of the palace of the ruling prince, graves, and pottery—belong to the Late Helladic II and III periods (to the Mycenaean Age from c. 1500-1100 B.C.), and to the years during which, according to the Eleusinian tradition, the goddess visited Keleos and stayed in his palace; in other words, to the years when the cult of Demeter was introduced. The Mycenaean settlement of Eleusis was naturally surrounded by fortification walls which have not survived, but which apparently followed the brow of the hill around the point on which the Chapel of Panaghitsa now stands.

Below the line of the fortification walls and against the eastern slope of the hill over a projecting spur the remains of a megaron belonging to the Late Helladic II period were brought to light in 1931-1932.³ The megaron is long and narrow as usual, with a single row



FIGURE 2. SUPERPOSED REMAINS OF THE TEMPLES OF DEMETER: AT, ARCHAIC TEMPLE; II, PEIISTRATEIAN; Δ, MYCENAEAN; E, MYCENAEAN PERIBOLOS WALL; K, GEOMETRIC TEMPLE.



FIGURE 3. GENERAL VIEW OF THE REMAINS WITHIN THE ISTINIAN TELESTERION. A.T. ARCHAIC TEMPLE; P. PERISTYLE; G. TERRACE WALL AND ENTRANCE

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of columns running along its longitudinal axis, oriented almost east and west, with its porticoed entrance to the east. In front of that portico or *prodomos* projects a platform rising above the level of the court and approached by two narrow stairways placed symmetrically between it and the projecting walls of the portico. The court in front of the megaron and the building itself were surrounded by a peribolos wall. No finds proving its nature were made within the structure, but from a great deal of circumstantial evidence it can be deduced that it was the earliest temple of Demeter thus far uncovered at Eleusis. It corresponds completely to the description of that temple preserved in the Homeric Hymn; it stands on a projecting spur below the fortification walls of the Mycenaean settlement, it has a platform on which the altar of the goddess stood, and it was built at a time which could be equated with that of the introduction of Demeter's rites at Eleusis.

In 1933 a false-necked amphora was discovered bearing on its shoulder an inscription in prehistoric, pre-Greek characters.⁴ If the reading of that inscription which we offered in 1936 is correct, this vase proves that the Eleusinian rites had already assumed a very advanced form by 1200 B.C., the date of the amphora. For in that inscription we find reference to the "*Kykeon*," the sacramental potion known to have been used during the initiation in historic times. And so it seems certain that the Mycenaean Megaron was the earliest temple of Demeter where the mysteries were celebrated, the earliest-known *Telesterion*, as the temple of Demeter was called, because within it the mysteries were held and the initiation was consummated. The discovery of this temple brought about a great change in our theories as to the origin and the beginnings of the cult, which until the excavations of 1931 had been assigned to the end of the eighth century. Now we know that the cult was already active at Eleusis in the fifteenth century. The growing popularity of the cult even in prehistoric-Mycenaean times is proved by the fact that two extension

wings were added to the original megaron in Late Helladic III times, or around 1300 B.C.

The Megaron so enlarged was used to the end of the prehistoric era. Over its remains was found a fragment of an elliptical or apsidal building constructed in the Geometric period (FIGURE 2). This fragment apparently belonged to the temple of Demeter or to the proto-historic *Telesterion* of Eleusis. In spite of the unevenness of the ground the Geometric temple was constructed over the area that was occupied by the Mycenaean megaron, an area which had become sacred in prehistoric times. Because of the slope of the hill an artificial terrace had to be constructed to support the building. Remains of the walls of this terrace had been discovered by Philios in an earlier excavation, and now can be interpreted correctly and be put into their proper place in the picture of the evolution of the sanctuary.

The Geometric temple was replaced, perhaps in the seventh century B.C., by an early Archaic structure constructed in polygonal masonry on an artificially-retained terrace built over the remains of the Mycenaean megaron and of the Geometric temple (FIGURES 2 AND 3). The southeast corner of this Archaic temple or *Telesterion* is well preserved, and until recently it was believed that it was the earliest temple of Demeter at Eleusis. Now we can prove that the Archaic temple was built almost 800 years after the introduction of Demeter's cult. The terrace walls of this Archaic temple were cleared by Dr. Kourouniotes and his collaborators, who found extensive remains of sacrificial pyres near the southern approach to the terrace. Among the ashes of the pyres were found numerous offerings such as vases and terracotta figurines, which had been brought to the temple by the initiates.

The Archaic building was much larger than either the Mycenaean or the Geometric temple and yet in time it proved inadequate to provide for the growing numbers of initiates. And so Peisistratos, the sixth-century tyrant of Athens, replaced it by a monumental temple, the remains of which are well preserved (FIGURES 4 AND 4A). It had an al-

most square shape and on the east side it was fronted by a portico. Five rows of columns, five columns in each row, supported the roof of the Peisistrateian temple and its interior walls were lined with steps from which the initiates could witness the rites. Strong retaining walls supported the artificial terrace on which stood the temple, and within that terrace the remains of the earlier temples of Demeter were carefully encased (FIGURES 2, 3 AND 4A). Eleusis, however, in the days of Peisistratos was not only a religious center, but also an outpost of the Athenian Commonwealth. And so the sanctuary and its courts were not surrounded by mere peribolos

walls, but by thick fortification walls of polygonal masonry surmounted by a mud brick body with strong towers (indicated in FIGURE 4 by a thick black band) and well-guarded gates. Two such gates led to the fortified sanctuary; the main gate toward Athens was placed on the north side, and a secondary entrance gate toward the sea, following the ancient established pattern, was opened on the south side. Peisistratos further surrounded the city of Eleusis with fortification walls, large portions of which were discovered in the excavations of 1931.

Through these Peisistrateian walls broke the Persians in 480-479 B.C., to sack the

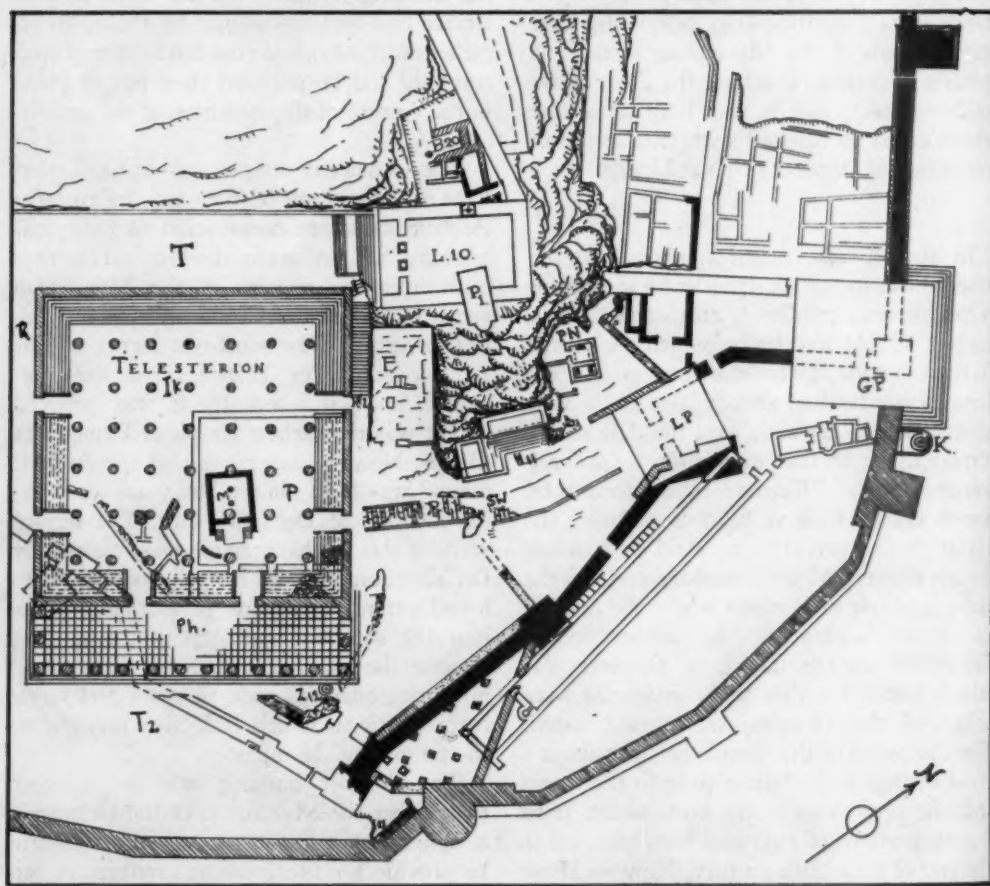


FIGURE 4. THE SANCTUARY AREA OF ELEUSIS. K, THE KALLICHORON WELL; GP, THE GREATER PROPYLAEA; LP, THE LESSER PROPYLAEA; PN, THE TEMPLE OF PLUTO; SW, THE SACRED WAY; IK, THE IKTINIAN TELESTERION; P, PEISISTRATEIAN TELESTERION; M, MYCENAEAN TELESTERION; PH, STOA OF PHILO; B 20, PREHISTORIC REMAINS ON THE ACROPOLIS OF ELEUSIS.

fication walls of Eleusis and to lay the foundations of a new and larger Telesterion. But, as was the case with the Kimonian Parthenon, the Telesterion he began was not completed by 450 B.C. Then Pericles was in charge of the fortunes of Athens and the chief exponent of her cultural and artistic world mission. He could not overlook such a great religious center as Eleusis, and after the Acropolis he turned his attention and care to that city.

At his command Iktinos, one of the architects of the Parthenon, designed a new temple for the initiations, a new Telesterion, and began its construction (FIGURES 4 AND 5). That Telesterion was to be the largest yet constructed, and its western part was cut out of the living rock. It had an almost square shape (54 meters in length) and its vast space was broken by forty-two large columns placed in six rows of seven. These columns did not reach to the ceiling of the hall, but supported a second row of columns that rose to the rafters. Thus the interior space was divided into two stories, a lower main floor and an upper or mezzanine. Light and air were introduced by means of a lantern placed in the middle of the roof. Through that open space, at the climax of the initiation service, lights shone so brilliantly that they could be seen from a great distance. The great hall was surrounded by tiers of steps, cut in the living rock on the west side, and on those steps the initiates stood during the celebration of the rites. On each of the north, east and south sides two doors were cut. The center of the hall was set apart, perhaps by movable partitions, and it was known as the *anaktoron* or palace of the goddess; there were kept the most sacred objects of Eleusis and the statues of the goddesses. Iktinos designed a portico for the eastern front of the temple, but this was never completed. A smaller portico fronted by twelve columns was erected instead by Philo in the fourth century. As a matter of fact it is not certain how much of the original plan was carried out by Iktinos himself, since the construction of the temple was completed by the architects Koroebos, Metagenes, and Xenokles.

The great Pericleian Telesterion, completed

in the fourth century, stood for centuries and proved adequate to the ever-increasing need for space in the sanctuary. It was repaired in Roman Imperial times and most of the remains to be seen today belong to those times. The architects of Pericles extended the court around the Telesterion by moving further to the east and south its fortification walls. New stretches of strong stone walls and new towers were then added to the Kimonian peribolos. The Pericleian extension was not final and in the fourth century Lykourgos (330 B.C.) extended the peribolos further and added walls and towers of exquisite workmanship. One of these towers, the round tower built at the extreme southeastern end, is a perfect example of stone masonry (FIGURE 6). These fortification walls were strengthened further in Roman times so that the sanctuary had the appearance of a strong, impregnable fort.

During Roman times the old northern gate to the sanctuary area was replaced by a marble structure known as the Lesser Propylaea (FIGURES 4 AND 7). It was built over the older Peisistrateian gate by Appius Claudius Pulcher, a Roman noble and friend of the great Cicero, about 40 B.C. It consisted of two porticoes, inner and outer, placed on either side of a central wide entrance flanked by two side entrances. Two Corinthian columns supported the roof of the outer portico, while that of the inner portico was supported by two Caryatid busts. One of these was carried by the Dilettanti to the British Museum, while the other is housed in the museum of Eleusis. Instead of capitals the Caryatids were bearing the "holy cist" or pyxis of Demeter.

At a short distance to the northwest of the Lesser Propylaea, Emperor Antoninus Pius, perhaps, erected another gateway known as the Greater Propylaea (FIGURES 4 AND 7). It was built of Pentelic marble and in imitation of the Great Propylaea of the Acropolis of Athens. At the northeastern corner of the Greater Propylaea was left to be seen the Kallichoron well of Eleusis, one of the famous landmarks of the Eleusinian story (FIGURE 4). According to that story around it the women

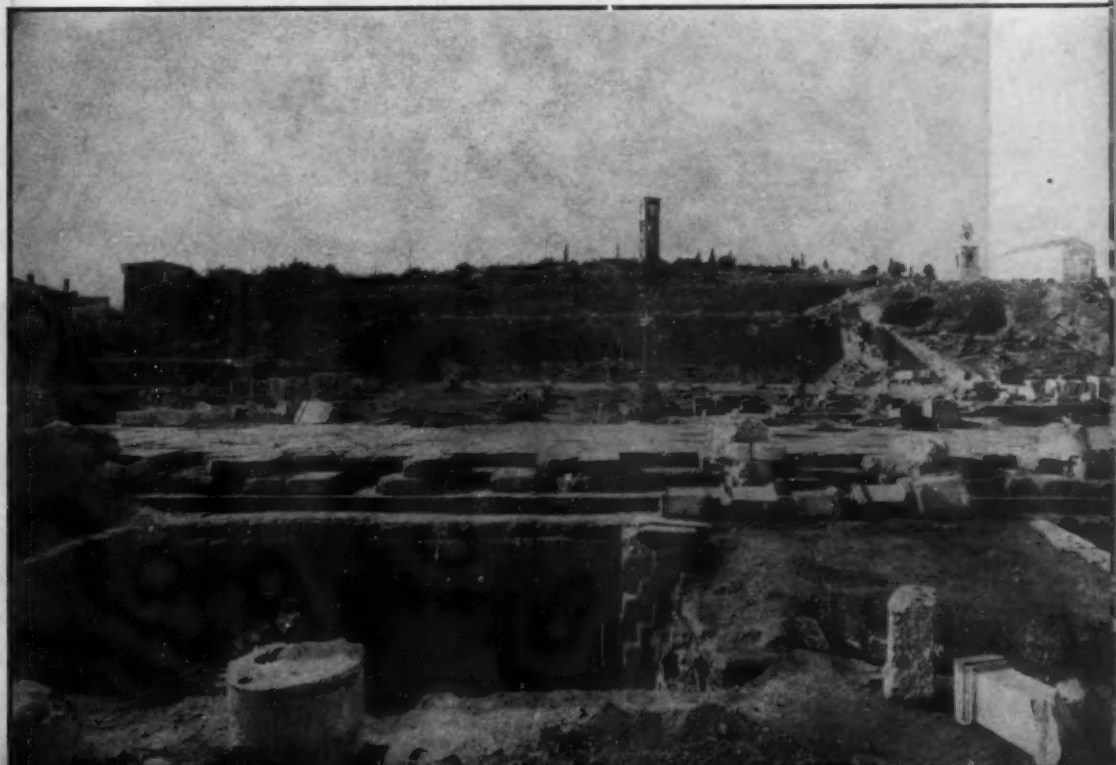
of Eleusis danced in honor of the goddess. The great outer court of the sanctuary, paved in Roman times, stretched before the Greater Propylaea (FIGURE 8). Almost in the middle of that court stood a temple dedicated to Artemis and Poseidon, and beyond it a sacrificial altar. The limits of the court to the east and the west were indicated by two monumental arches erected by Hadrian.

The Sacred Way from Athens entered the court at its northeastern end and through the Greater and the Lesser Propylaea ascended to the great temple of Demeter or the Telesterion where it came to its end (FIGURES 4 AND 9). Within the sanctuary area the Sacred Way, paved in Roman times, was flanked by rich votive monuments the splendor of which can be imagined from the fragments of altars, inscriptions, and statues which have been discovered and are now kept in the Museum of Eleusis. It will indeed be too long to discuss these art objects; perhaps

it will prove sufficient to state that every aspect of the Greek artistic achievement throughout the ages is excellently represented in the Eleusinian finds.

But we should note that within the sanctuary area and immediately beyond the Lesser Propylaea there exists a small grotto in which once stood the temple of Pluto, God of the Nether World and husband of Persephone (FIGURES 4 AND 9). That was the only temple not dedicated to Demeter and Persephone to be found in the sacred precinct. Within the large area of that precinct, however, were to be seen a good number of non-religious, secular buildings such as storehouses, where the tithes were stored, cisterns, quarters for the priests, colonnades and even a bouleuterion (FIGURE 9). Thus the great temple of Demeter was surrounded by courts and various buildings of religious and non-religious nature. We should fail, indeed, to picture for ourselves that great temple and its precinct were we to

FIGURE 5. GENERAL VIEW OF THE IKTINIAN TELESTERION. FOUNDATIONS IN THE FOREGROUND BELONG TO THE STOA OF PHILO.



ignore the magnificent votive offerings with which the courts of the temple were crowded, offerings dedicated to the goddess by grateful initiates.

Those initiates we have left in the outer court of the sanctuary and the adjoining hostleries on the night of the procession. Their initiation was continued the next morning, when they visited the sanctuary, and was consummated later in the great Telesterion (FIGURE 10). What happened in the Telesterion, what was the initiation and what the tests, what were the mysteries which were revealed to the *mystae*, are questions that cannot be answered even today; the ancient Eleusinians kept their secret well. How strict they were in keeping secret the oral tradition of the rites could be indicated by the prosecution of Alcibiades and by the story of Pausanias. We would naturally expect to find a description of the sanctuary

at Eleusis in the writings of Pausanias, the tourist with literary ambitions, who has given us an account of Greece in the second century of our era. As a matter of fact he described minutely the monuments which were to be seen along the Sacred Way, and even those in the outer court of the sanctuary of Demeter. But then his story ends, for, as he states, the goddess in a dream forbade him even to mention the buildings within her sacred precinct.

It is true that in the oratorical writings of some early Christian fathers we find numerous remarks about the mysteries. On the basis of those remarks have been advanced a number of theories as to the nature of the Eleusinian mysteries, and the assumption was established that the mysteries were of a licentious, orgiastic nature. However, the latest excavations at Eleusis have proved that the statements of the Fathers were based upon



FIGURE 6. THE SOUTHEASTERN ROUND TOWER OF THE WALLS OF LYKOURGOS.

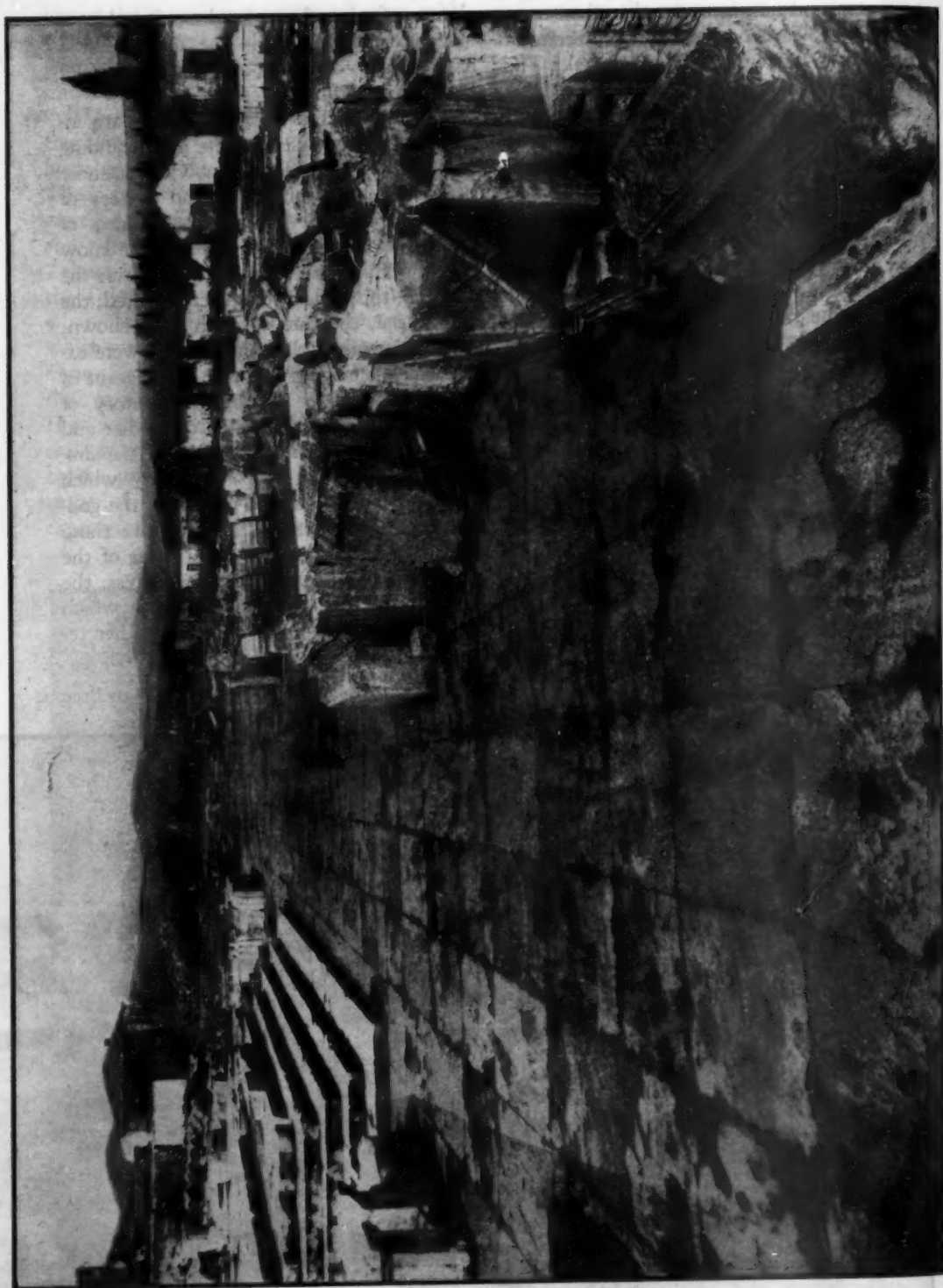
sentiment and imagination rather than upon truth. The Fathers speak of subterranean chambers in which the orgies were held. The sanctuary area and its surroundings have been cleared to the rock level everywhere, but no subterranean chambers were brought to light. Such chambers never existed, and naturally the orgies that presumably were held in them never took place. We find no other enlightening information in the writings of contemporary or later authors. A thick, impenetrable veil indeed still covers securely the rites of Demeter and protects them from the curious eyes of the modern student. How many days and nights have been spent over books, inscriptions, and works of art by eminent scholars in their effort to lift the veil! How many wild and ingenious theories have been advanced in superhuman efforts to explain the mysteries! How many nights have I spent standing on the steps of the Telesterion, flooded with the magic silver light of a Mediterranean moon, hoping to catch the mood of the initiates, hoping that the human soul might get a

glimpse of what the rational mind could not investigate! All in vain—the ancient world has kept its secret well, and the mysteries of Eleusis remain unrevealed.⁵

The few details which we know are inadequate to give us a complete understanding of the rites. What do we know about those rites? We know that different degrees of initiation existed—the most advanced of which was known as the *epopteia*. We know that the mysteries were of three parts: the *dromena*, the things which were enacted; the *deiknymena*, the things which were shown; and the *legomena*, the things which were explained. We may assume that the pageant of the wanderings of Demeter, the story of Persephone, and the reunion of mother and daughter formed the main part of the *dromena*; that it was a passion play which aimed not only to unfold the life of the goddess to the initiates, but also to make those initiates take part in the experiences of the goddess, to share with her the distress, the travail, the exaltation, and the joy which attended the loss of Persephone and her re-

FIGURE 7. GENERAL VIEW OF THE GREATER (GP) AND THE LESSER PROPYLAEA (LP) OF ELEUSIS.





union with the mother. "With burning torches Proserpina is sought, and when she is found, the rite is closed with general thanksgiving and a waving of torches," writes Lactantius (*Institutiones Divinae*, Epitome, 23). We may accept as a fact that the fortunes of Demeter and Persephone symbolized life, death, and even immortality; that they gave to the initiates confidence to face death and a promise of bliss in the dark domain of Hades. But beyond that we cannot proceed. Whether or not the passion play concluded the *dromena* cannot be definitely established. As a matter of fact the sacramental *Kykeon*, the drinking of the potion of Demeter, and even a sacramental meal, may very well have been part of the *dromena*. And what the *deiknymena* and the *legomena* were we are in no position to know.

Joy and Happiness

ACTUALLY then our knowledge of the real nature of the mysteries has remained very scanty in spite of the recent excavations. However uncertain we may be as to the nature of the mysteries, of one thing we must be, and we are, very certain: the initiates returned from their pilgrimage to Eleusis full of joy and happiness, with the fear of death diminished, and with strengthened hope of a better life in the world of shadows. "Thrice happy are those of the mortals who having seen those rites depart for Hades; for to them alone is it granted to have true life on the other side. To the rest all there is evil," exclaims Sophocles (frag. 719 ed. Dindorf). And to this Pindar responds with equal exaltation (frag. 121 ed. Oxford).

When we read these and other similar statements written by the great or nearly great of the ancient world, by the dramatists and the thinkers, when we picture the magnificent buildings and monuments constructed at Eleusis by great political figures like Peisistratos, Kimon, Pericles, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and others, we cannot help feeling that the mysteries at Eleusis were not an empty, childish affair devised by shrewd priests to fool the peasant and the ignorant, but a philosophy of life which possessed a deep

and great meaning and which perhaps imparted a modicum of truth to the yearning human soul. And that feeling is strengthened when we read in Cicero, *De Legibus* 2.14, that Athens had given nothing to the world more excellent or divine than the Eleusinian mysteries!

How important those elements might have been can be inferred from the fact that the advanced degree of initiation, the *epopteia*, was attained solely by the inspection—followed by contemplation—of the Eleusinian *sacra*, exhibited to the initiates by the hierophant in a striking manner. As a matter of fact the title of that high dignitary of Eleusis, hierophant, means 'he who displays the *sacra*, the sacred objects.' From a rhetorical fragment preserved under the name of Sopatros we can get a glimpse of the importance of the *legomena*. In that fragment we read of a youth who is dreaming that he is being initiated into the mysteries; he followed the passion play with care but was unable to hear the *legomena* of the hierophant and because of that he did not consider himself properly initiated (*Rhetores Graeci*, 8.110). The importance of the *deiknymena* and the *legomena* may further be inferred from the ritual acts, exhibits, and doctrines we find in the Greek Orthodox and the Roman Catholic churches of our day. (Indeed it is highly possible that ritual acts and exhibits, like the elevation of the sacred host, of the Christian mysteries, were borrowed directly from the Eleusinian rites.)

Death of Demeter

LET US RECALL again that the rites of Eleusis were held for more than *two thousand years*: that for two thousand years civilized humanity was sustained and ennobled by those rites. Then we shall be able to appreciate the meaning and the importance of Eleusis and of the cult of Demeter in the pre-Christian era. When Christianity conquered the Mediterranean world, the rites of Demeter, having perhaps fulfilled their mission to humanity, came to an end. The "bubbling spring" of hope and inspiration that once existed by the Kallichoron Well became dry and the world



A: GREATER PROPYLAEA. B: SMALLER PROPYLAEA. C: THE HALL OF MYSTERIES—TELESTERION. SW: SACRED WAY. PN: GROTTO AND TEMPLE OF PLUTO.



FIGURE 10. RED-FIGURED PLAQUE OF NIINNION. ONE OF THE RARE REPRESENTATIONS OF INITIATES—BEARING A KERNOS ON THEIR HEADS—BEING PRESENTED TO THE SEATED GODDESSES (DEMETER ABOVE AND PERSEPHONE BELOW) BY THE MYSTAGOGOS. (At the Museum of Eleusis.)

turned to other living sources for sustenance. The doctrine which inspired the world for so long was gradually forgotten, and its secrets were buried with its last hierophant. After all, this seems to be the eternal law: one source succeeds another, and a doctrine must die so that another may be born. Yet the story of Demeter and her cult at Eleusis will live forever in the memories of man, because it belongs to the cycle of popular myths that can never die.

NOTES

¹ In 1812, the site was identified and visited for the first time by members of the Society of the Dilettanti who made some preliminary investigations and carried to England one of the Karyatides of the Lesser Propylaea. Additional investigations were carried out by Lenormant in 1860. They were followed by the systematic excavations of the Greek Archaeological Society. D. Philios directed those excavations from 1882 to 1892. He was succeeded by A. Skias, who worked at Eleusis from 1894 to 1907. From 1917 to 1939, K. Kourouniotes conducted extensive excavations at the site assisted by

G. E. Mylonas, J. Travlos, J. Threpsiades, and G. Bakalakis. No work was possible during the war and after the liberation of Greece.

² G. E. Mylonas, "Eleusis in the Bronze Age," *AJA*, 36 (1932) 104-117; *Prehistoric Eleusis*, 1932 (in Greek).

³ The basic publications on the earlier excavations at Eleusis to 1917 are: D. Philios, *Fouilles d'Eleusis*, 1889; F. Noack, *Eleusis: die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Heiligtums*, 1927; articles in the *Archaeologische Ephemeris*, 1886-1890, 1892, 1894-1899, 1901, 1912. On the later excavations: K. Kourouniotes and others, *Eleusiniaké*, 1, 1932. K. Kourouniotes, *Eleusis*, 1934: "Das Eleusiniische Heiligtum von den Anfängen bis zur vorperikleischen Zeit," *Archiv für Religionswiss.* 32, 52 ff. *Deltion*, 1930-1931, 1931-1932. Kourouniotes-Mylonas, *AJA*, 37 (1933) 271 ff. Kourouniotes-Travlos, *Deltion*, 1934-1935, 54 ff. G. E. Mylonas, *The Hymn to Demeter and Her Sanctuary at Eleusis*, 1942.

⁴ G. E. Mylonas, "Eleusiniaka," *AJA*, 40 (1936) 415 ff.

⁵ It will be too long to enumerate the articles and books that have been published on the subject. The more important of these are: C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 1829, 1, 1-228. L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 1907, III, 127-278. P. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, 1914. H. R. Willoughby, *Pagan Regeneration*, 1929, 36-67. V. Magnien, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, 1938.

† Frank Hewitt Cowles

AMONG THE READERS OF THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL many will learn with grief of the death of Frank Hewitt Cowles, Professor of Latin at the College of Wooster. He succumbed to a rare blood ailment on October 1, after having been ill for two months, at the age of 63.

Professor Cowles, a native of Iowa, had taught Latin at Wooster since 1926. He was Head of the Latin Department and served prominently on various faculty committees, particularly in connection with the development of the new academic program at Wooster called "An Adventure in Education." He was graduated from the College of Wooster in 1907 and received his doctorate from Cornell University in 1916. Before joining the faculty at Wooster he had held teaching positions at Huron College,

Wabash College, and Princeton University; he also taught during summer sessions at Pennsylvania State College, Cornell, Indiana University, and Columbia University.

His publications include "Gaius Verres, an Historical Study" (*Cornell Studies in Classical Philology*, 1917) and various papers on Cicero and Vergil contributed to THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL. He was a member of the American Philological Association, the American Association of University Professors, and the Classical Association of the Middle West and South.

He is survived by his wife, Anne; his son Arthur W., of Schenectady, N. Y.; his daughter Frances Anne (Mrs. Harold Wymer), of Osaka, Japan; his son Hewitt, who lives in Wooster; two grandchildren and a brother and sister.

To be speakers of words and doers of deeds

Education in the Homeric Age

Dwight G. Burrage

WHAT? EDUCATION in that barbaric period? In seeking an answer to this question let us examine the evidence that has come down to us and perhaps we shall come to realize that the period was not so barbaric after all. Practically our only source of information is found in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, since archaeology, except for some remains of pottery, has little help to offer us. The century and a half from 900 to 750 B.C. may be regarded roughly speaking as the Homeric Age, unless we prefer the statement of a former student of mine: "Homer's poems are assigned to him 1194. He did his best work from 850 to 750 B.C." The poems were composed in the latter part of what has been called the Greek Middle Ages, the era following the decay of Aegean civilization and preceding the beginning of historic times in Greece.

Study of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* has given us a fair picture of the life of these Greeks, or at least of their nobles, for the poems were recited at the courts of princes and therefore dealt with the exploits of the leaders rather than of the common people. So it is the education of the young noble that we are to consider.

It was a period of action rather than of contemplation. Life was simple, and physical strength was greatly admired, but it was dawning upon at least a few of the people that some things can be better secured by quickness of wit than by muscle or brawn. Did Homeric education fit men to live in this world? Were the ideals practical? Perhaps the best answer is this statement made by Phoenix, when he reminded Achilles of the instruction he gave the latter in days gone by:

"And the aged knight, Peleus, . . . sent me to teach you all these things, to be both a speaker of words and a doer of deeds."¹

Otherwise phrased, the tutor was to prepare the pupil to play his part as an orator and a soldier—a leader in council and an adept in the use of arms and in the various forms of manual labor necessary in that primitive society. What could be more practical?

Of course there were no schools in Greece at that time. The nearest approach was the employment of a tutor for a youth, as in the case of Achilles noted above. This practice, however, seems quite exceptional, although other instances are mentioned. Achilles received instruction in medicine from Chiron, "the most righteous of the Centaurs." In this he seems to have been under the tutelage of a specialist. Chiron is reported also to have been the teacher of Asclepius,² who in turn taught his son what he had learned from Chiron. This suggests that, after all, the boy's instructor was usually the father, who, desiring to see his son realize his highest ideals, would seek to teach the means by which he himself had overcome difficulties. Not only would he strive to answer the questions arising from his son's curiosity, but would also indicate the most effective manner of speaking in the assembly and the most skilful method of fighting on the battlefield. As an example of parental instruction we have the advice of Nestor to his son before the chariot-race, recorded in the twenty-third book of the *Iliad*.³ He told the youth to make use of cunning, to drive close to the post at the turn, and finally sent him off with words of encouragement.

The mother also would have her part in the training of the son. His first lessons in morality and his knowledge of the stories of gods and heroes would be learned at her side. In this teaching the nurse, who cared for him in his early years, and the bard, who sang in his father's halls, would have their share as well. Telemachus, as we learn from the close of the second book of the *Odyssey*,⁴

made a confidant of Eurycleia, his nurse, even after he was twenty years of age. As for the bard, we can easily imagine how attractive his personality and his stories would be to the children of the house.

A word should be said here of the unconscious education—the beneficial influences existing in the home of a Greek noble. G. Stanley Hall has pointed out that the New England household of a hundred years ago was of great value in developing the child's mind, because he could see everything in the process of making; for instance, the wool sheared from the sheep's back he saw at last made into a garment for himself. This advantage the young Greek possessed as well as our forefathers.

Reading and Writing?

OUR THOUGHT turns naturally next to the three R's. Did the Homeric prince read and write. This leads up to a matter much debated—the use of writing in this age. We cannot discuss it here, but the facts are—in the earlier age of Aegean Civilization writing—even a linear form—was in use at Cnossus in Crete and elsewhere, but only one instance of what might pass for writing is mentioned in the Homeric poems. The passage tells how Proetus sent Bellerophon to Lycia—

"and gave him tokens of woe, having scratched on a folded tablet many deadly signs, and in order that he might perish, bade him show them to his father-in-law."⁵

As the art of writing was in use in the Greek world before and immediately after, as there is abundant evidence to attest, it would be strange if it was not employed to some extent during this period also. If writing was known, it must have been used largely for keeping accounts, for messages, and possibly by bards to assist their memory in recalling the long poems they composed and recited. It is quite likely that the young prince was expected to acquire the ability to use such writing for the practical advantage it would give him. Along with the writing of course would go reading. These two subjects may have formed a part of Homeric education. Our evidence hardly

permits us to make a stronger statement than that.

As for arithmetic, the knowledge of this branch was very meagre. The largest exact enumeration is three hundred and sixty, applied to the hogs of Eumaeus.⁶ Ideas of time and distance are also indefinite. The latter is expressed by the length of a spear-throw or the space within which a man's voice can be heard. However, measuring-rods are mentioned in connection with fixing the boundaries of a piece of land. Addition is the only kind of calculation that we find. Multiplication is expressed by comparison, as in the following passage:

"And if we Achaeans should be mustered by tens and each ten should choose a man of the Trojans to pour wine, many tens would be without a cupbearer."⁷

Counting of large numbers seems to have been accomplished by the use of the fingers, for in referring to Proteus' numbering of his seals the word, *pempassetai*, is used,⁸ apparently derived from employing the four fingers and the thumb of the hand in the calculation.

In science but little progress had been made. As was natural, astronomy was the branch farthest developed. In their out-of-door life the Greeks had every reason to regard the face of the sky. The position of the stars showed them the time for the different agricultural pursuits and Odysseus guided his raft by noting the constellations:

"Pleiades and Boötes, setting late, and the Bear, which also they call by the name Wain, which turns about in that place and looks upon Orion and alone has no share in the baths of Oceanus."⁹

This passage shows that the stars were already grouped and carefully observed. Venus, as morning star, is called Phosphorus, and as evening star, Hesperus. The identity of the two is evidently not recognized. In general the phenomena of nature were attributed directly to the gods. The sun was itself a deity, thunderbolts were hurled by Zeus, the rainbow was a sign sent to mortals by the father of gods and men. Thus the Greeks associated their science with religion.

Homeric Geography

THEIR KNOWLEDGE of the earth was not quite so limited as was that of the sky. They were well acquainted with the Aegean and the adjacent shores and the rest of the mainland of Greece. Of lands beyond the circle of the Aegean, Assyria and Babylonia are not mentioned. As we would naturally expect, Phoenicia is the country to which the poems most frequently refer. Both Paris and Menelaus visited it. Phoenician traders are represented as coming to the Greek lands and even kidnapping children.¹⁰ Egypt also is often spoken of. Its wealth and population seem to have impressed strongly the Greek mind. We find this description of Thebes:

"Egyptian Thebes, where the greatest amount of treasure lies in their houses and there are a hundred gates and from each two hundred men come forth with horses and chariots."¹¹

More distant regions were peopled with such creatures as the Cyclopes, Lotus-eaters, and the Lastrygonians, a rich field for poetic imagination.

War set a premium on knowledge of medicine and surgery. T. D. Seymour in his *Life in the Homeric Age* says:

"The anatomical knowledge of Homer has been declared to be almost as advanced as that of Hippocrates. Certainly slight progress was made between the age of the epic poets and the early fifth century B.C."¹²

Physicians such as the sons of Asclepius were held in great honor in the country, while any chief who held such knowledge was especially fortunate. Achilles, as we noted, had been instructed in this art by the Centaur, Chiron.

Public Speaking

WE SHOULD RECALL too that Achilles was taught by Phoenix to be a "speaker of words." The Greeks, even in that early age, devoted careful attention to public speaking. In fact, some of the finest specimens of Greek oratory are to be found in the *Iliad*. One notes in the first book the quarrel of the chiefs and in the ninth the embassy to Achilles. Observe also the scene on the shield of Achilles, de-

picting a trial in the market-place before the judges with the people looking on, applauding the speakers.¹³

A practical purpose did not appear in all branches of Homeric education. This is true of tradition, the ancient substitute for history. In the account of the ancestry of Aeneas we have almost a family tree.¹⁴ It was a part of the education of a young noble to learn of his forebears and to be able to relate their deeds. Nor was tradition confined to the family. Familiar to all were the great legendary achievements of former times, such as the Calydonian Boar Hunt, the slaughter of the Centaurs at the marriage of Pirithous, and the fighting about Thebes. In the *Odyssey* the events of the Trojan War are represented as universally known. Much of this information was obtained from the bards in the form of poetry, so here we see the influence of literature entering into Homeric education. As it is indicated that the long poems were so well known that a particular portion could be requested of the bard,¹⁵ it is not unlikely that parts were committed to memory by the youths to serve for their own amusement as well as the entertainment of their friends. So even from the first the Homeric poems may have been a means of education—a role they have continued to play down to our own time.

The Art of Music

CLOSELY AKIN to poetry is the art of music, and there is evidence to show that this art was not confined to the minstrels. When the embassy went to Achilles, they found him "delighting his heart with a clear-toned lyre, beautiful and richly wrought, and it had a silver cross-bar. This lyre he took from the spoils, when he had destroyed Eëtion's city. With this he was delighting his soul and he sang then of the renowned deeds of men. And Patroclus sat alone opposite him in silence, waiting till the descendant of Aeacus should cease from song."¹⁶

The music of the flute is also mentioned as heard in the Trojan bivouac,¹⁷ and also in connection with the wedding procession on the Shield of Achilles.¹⁸

The professional musician most certainly had instruction. Odysseus said to Demodocus

that Apollo or the muse must have taught him.¹⁸ Phemius of Ithaca claimed to be self-taught (*autodidakτος*).²⁰ This may mean, however, that he himself composed the songs that he sang. Such musical ability as Achilles had may have been exceptional for a prince, but without doubt singing was customary for all in their religious rites, as is seen from the following:

"And all day they, the sons of the Achaeans, propitiated the god with song, singing a beautiful paean, celebrating the Far-Darter with hymns."²¹

Calypso and Circe sang at their work. The laborers in the vineyard, depicted on the shield, were cheered by music of the lyre and the Linus song. The Greeks' appreciation of music is illustrated by these words:

"As when a man looks on a bard, who having learned from the gods, sings lovely songs to mortals and they have an insatiable desire to listen to him, when he sings."²²

Can anyone deny that music played an important part in the education of these Greeks?

Arts and Crafts

ART WAS DOUBTLESS confined to the few—largely to men who had talent and worked as they were commissioned by others, as Hephaestus made armor for Achilles at the behest of Thetis. Their education must have been specialized, as was that of the professional singer, the bard. They acquired their skill by learning from others. It was in metal work that the Homeric artists especially showed their skill. Perhaps they received their inspiration from Mycenaean works of art. True it is that the same spirit of life seems to have pervaded both. We have this description of the brooch of Odysseus:

"But there had been made for him a brooch of gold with double sockets and on the face it was richly wrought. In his forepaws a dog held a dappled fawn and gazed at it, as it struggled, and all wondered at this, how, being of gold as they were, the dog was looking at the fawn, as he strangled it, but the fawn, eager to get away, was struggling with its feet."²³

The technique described by Homer also in some cases was similar to that of Mycenaean art. The inlaid work of the dagger-blades from Mycenae, we find, has its counterpart in the Shield of Achilles.²⁴ Helen is represented as embroidering a purple web with battle scenes,²⁵ and Andromache adorned one with "manifold flowers,"²⁶ and Odysseus made his own bedstead, bright with purple dye.²⁷ It is to be noted in these three cases, too, that the artist was from the class of nobles and not an artisan who received a commission. Descriptions of Homeric palaces, of armor, of wearing apparel, and of jewelry, all suggest that more than mere utility was sought. The Greek artistic spirit appeared thus early—a spirit that might well affect the young noble coming to manhood amid such surroundings.

The objects just mentioned imply industrial as well as artistic education. Reference is made to the smith and his bellows and anvil, the potter and his wheel, the carpenter, the stone-mason, the chariot-maker, the wheelwright, the ship-builder, the fisherman, the sailor, the merchant, the goldsmith, the worker in leather, the woodman, and the farmer. However the same man may have turned his hand to a number of occupations, for not only did Odysseus, the warrior, the speaker, the sailor, fashion his own bedstead, but he also boasted of how straight a furrow he could plow.

Physical Education

AT ALL TIMES in their history the Greeks gave particular attention to physical training. This certainly was true in the Homeric age. It appears in these forms—gymnastic contests, the dance, hunting, and war. Competitive sports not only served to give bodily vigor as a preparation for war, but also to afford amusement, when men were otherwise unoccupied. A form of physical exercise that gave not so much strength of body as grace was the dance. A more serious sport however was hunting. A boar-hunt, in which Odysseus participated, is described in some detail.²⁸ Courage, quickness of wit, strength of arm, and skill were all involved in such hunts.

Of course, all these activities except dancing may be regarded as aiming primarily at making the young noble a valiant and successful warrior, a "doer of deeds." The Homeric chieftain went into battle in a two-horse chariot with a driver, but he might at any time be compelled to take the reins into his own hands. He was armed with two spears, a sword, and a dagger. He stepped from his chariot, approached his foe on foot. He hurled both spears and then continued the battle with his sword. The athlete, the hunter, and the warrior appear all in the same person, for these Greeks had no sympathy for specialization in physical development. Their aim was the highest state of efficiency for the whole body, an ideal at once noble, practical, and adapted to the conditions of their life.

Moral Training

INTELLECTUAL AND PHYSICAL education are not in themselves sufficient for the development of the whole man. The Homeric Greeks added another factor, moral training. This was derived from three sources: religious instruction, regard for public opinion, and inspiration to noble living. In the home the child would be taught by father, mother, nurse, and bard, stories of the gods, the punishment of wickedness, the rewards of virtue, and the glorious deeds of heroes. Some scholars have claimed that religion and morality with the Greeks were completely divorced but this hardly seems to be proved by the facts. Religion taught, imperfectly to be sure, the punishment of sin. The *Erinyes* were appointed avengers of infractions of the moral law, and Zeus was regarded as the protector of strangers and beggars. Again, great sins might be punished after death, as in the case of Tantalus and Sisyphus. In general, religion taught that in some way it would be well for the upright, but evil was in store for the sinner. That there was a bond between religion and morality can be seen from the following passage:

"For Prayers are daughters of great Zeus, lame and wrinkled and with squinting eyes, and then too they are heedful in their course in pursuit of Mischief. But Mischief is both strong and swift

of foot. Therefore she by far outstrips them all, and going before, misleads men throughout all the earth, but Prayers coming after effect a cure."²⁹

Morality was enforced also by regard for public opinion. The public conscience had not developed sufficiently to set its standards very high. Theft, piracy, adultery, and homicide are usually referred to without very severe condemnation. Brutality and deceit receive no censure. But we do find cases of self-restraint. There is a generous and open-hearted hospitality to all strangers. There are strong friendships and examples of domestic happiness—in some respects a morality high and worthy even of our imitation. Closely akin to regard for public opinion is desire for glory and the emulation of national heroes. Such motives might serve as a compelling force in attaining the virtues characteristic of the Homeric Greeks.

Education of Women

WE HAVE CONFINED ourselves thus far to the training of the men. How about the women? Did they receive any education? We may say that the end sought was domesticity, that Penelope and Andromache were the highest ideals of womanhood. The daughters of the noble families were taught by their mothers or by slaves to spin, to weave, to embroider and were instructed also in other household arts. To some extent the girls would become familiar with the general knowledge that their brothers obtained, while their moral and religious training would be similar. The influences from the home life would also be much the same, though their acquaintance with the outside world would be less immediate.

It remains for us to judge of the effectiveness of Homeric education. In evaluating any system of training, the following questions should be asked: Does it satisfy the needs of the times? Does it develop the whole man? Does it fit for the fullest enjoyment of life? Does it produce sound moral character? Let us consider these in order.

In the first place, did this education meet the requirements imposed by the civilization

of the age? To this we can give an emphatic answer in the affirmative. The ideal was civic. The warrior, who had also oratorical ability, was the best citizen, and the whole training was admirably adapted to develop the youth along these lines. The out-of-doors existence and vigorous exercise produced a race of soldiers, while contact with public life and free discussion of all subjects, together with individual instruction, made possible the examples of oratory which appear in the *Iliad*.

But did it develop the whole man? Here we can hardly speak with the same assurance. It is needless to say that those faculties of the mind which are moulded by the study of mathematics and the natural sciences received almost no attention from these Greeks, and linguistic ability was involved only in the use of the mother tongue. On the other hand, in addition to their practical education, with some ethical instruction, every advantage was provided for the highest physical development. Again, all their knowledge and activity were closely related. Intellectual attainments contributed to practical advantage and all the circumstances of life were interpreted from the religious point of view, and even the most insignificant event was given an aesthetic value in their poems. In fact; all the forms of knowledge they possessed were so intimately connected and so varied that we can truthfully say that their education except on its merely intellectual side was peculiarly thorough.

Did it fit for the highest enjoyment of life? Whatever may have been the cause, we find in the poems a remarkable delight in living, resembling to some extent that of Elizabethan England. To this the general good health, promoted by exercise, must have contributed, but aside from this mere animal joy of existence, music and dancing were common and, above all, poetry was highly appreciated, while art was already coming to have some aesthetic influence.

Of the moral aspects of this education we must not expect to form so favorable a judgment. We may say that these men had ideals of glory, which inspired them to be brave on

the battle-field, to be faithful at home, devoted to their friends, and reverent to the gods, but their morality was narrow and there was little true altruism.

However we may answer these questions as to its value, the final proof of the efficacy of this training lies in the existence of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. If we accept the view that they are the work of many poets, how can we account for the great ability exhibited except on the ground of superior education? "By their fruits ye shall know them" may be applied to social systems as well as to men.

In brief, the training in this age was effective and simple and brought men close to nature. It resulted in making them brave warriors and able speakers, it developed a love of freedom, and laid the foundation for appreciation and creative ability in art and literature. J. Davidson says, "It may well be doubted whether at any subsequent period of their history the Greeks were as well educated, in the true sense of that word, as they were in the days of Homer."³⁰

NOTES

¹ *Iliad*, 9.438-443.

² *Iliad*, 4.219.

³ *Iliad*, 23.306 ff.

⁴ *Odyssey*, 2.337-381.

⁵ *Iliad*, 6.168-170.

⁶ *Odyssey*, 14.20.

⁷ *Iliad*, 2.126-128.

⁸ *Odyssey*, 4.412.

⁹ *Odyssey*, 5.272-275.

¹⁰ *Odyssey*, 15.459 ff.

¹¹ *Iliad*, 9.381-384.

¹² P. 620.

¹³ *Iliad*, 18.497 ff.

¹⁴ *Iliad*, 20.208 ff.

¹⁵ *Odyssey*, 8.492.

¹⁶ *Iliad*, 9.186-191.

¹⁷ *Iliad*, 10.13.

¹⁸ *Iliad*, 18.495.

¹⁹ *Odyssey*, 8.488.

²⁰ *Odyssey*, 22.347.

²¹ *Iliad*, 1.472-474.

²² *Odyssey*, 17.518-520.

²³ *Odyssey*, 19.226-231.

²⁴ *Iliad*, 18.483 ff.

²⁵ *Iliad*, 3.125-128.

²⁶ *Iliad*, 22.441.

²⁷ *Odyssey*, 23.199-201.

²⁸ *Odyssey*, 19.428 ff.

²⁹ *Iliad*, 9.502-507.

³⁰ *Education of the Greek People*, p. 56.

Philosophical Doctrine And Poetic Technique in Ovid

Phillip DeLacy

Philosophy for effect—
Not based on convictions

ONE OF THE characteristic features of the Augustan poets is the manner in which they combine poetic artistry with philosophical doctrines.¹ Vergil, for example, in the sixth book of the *Aeneid* and the fourth *Eclogue*, makes certain interpretations of Roman history and destiny in terms of philosophical theories. It is important to observe that in the case of Vergil and the other Augustans, particularly Horace and Ovid, the distinctive element in their use of philosophical themes is not the themes themselves (for they are seldom original), but the manner in which they are woven into the poem. As Professor Highbarger has pointed out in his book on the *Gates of Dreams*,² Vergil could have found in Plato and other philosophers the conceptions of the soul, the underworld, and the after-life which he uses in the sixth book; but the way in which he adapted those particular doctrines to form an integral part of his great central theme is evidence of Vergil's own genius.

I should suggest, therefore, that we conceive of the Augustan poets as having at their disposal a vast storehouse of philosophical doctrines, comparable to their storehouse of mythological tales and historical events. From

this philosophical storehouse they could select whatever doctrines they found appropriate to any given poetic theme. Horace, for instance, borrows from the Epicureans in those odes that are concerned with the simple delights of a life free from care; but he uses Stoic and Socratic doctrines in the odes that glorify the Roman virtues.³ Even Vergil occasionally uses Epicurean material,⁴ and we shall soon see that Ovid borrows the doctrines of a number of philosophers.

Now if it is true that the selection and use of philosophical themes is itself a matter of poetic technique, dictated to some extent at least by the nature of the poem into which the philosophy is to be incorporated, then it is very difficult, and perhaps impossible, to determine whether Horace was really an Epicurean or a Stoic, or whether Vergil really believed his own account of the underworld. For we seldom have the means to differentiate between what the poet believes, and what he considers appropriate to the context of his poem.

In support of my thesis that the procedure of the Augustan poets was to draw from a storehouse of philosophical ideas whatever they desired for their poetic compositions, I should like to point out three circumstances which have an important bearing on this problem. After that I shall pass to a more particular consideration of the philosophical element in Ovid's poems.

The first circumstance that I wish to mention is that there actually was a great variety of philosophical doctrines available to the Augustan poets. Not only did they have the works of Lucretius and Cicero, with their systematic presentations of the Stoic, Epicurean, and Academic philosophies; but in addition, the contemporary leaders of these

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schools of philosophy comprised the leading educators of the Roman world, and it was not unusual for Roman students to study under one or more of these Greek teachers.⁸ Then, too, the dialogues of Plato and Aristotle and the monumental works of Epicurus and Chrysippus were available to any who wished to carry their studies further. Perhaps at no time before or since has philosophy so permeated education as in the second half of the first century before Christ.

Philosophy and Rhetoric

IN THE SECOND place, it is known from the works of the elder Seneca that many rhetoricians of the Augustan period consciously used the device of selecting philosophical material as a means of amplifying and adorning rhetorical arguments. The elder Seneca's *Controversiae* and *Suasoriae* illustrate this procedure. Seneca mentions one *controversia* whose imaginary setting is the trial of a man charged with insanity (*dementia*) on the ground that, having freed a slave for meritorious service, he had consented to a marriage between the slave and his daughter. Here the rhetorician Albucius, speaking in defense of the father, *philosophatus est* (that is, played the philosopher, or used a philosophical argument): *neminem natura liberum esse, neminem servum; haec postea nomina singulis inposuisse Fortunam*.⁶ Another rhetorician, Arellius Fuscus, was fond of using references to religion in his arguments;⁷ and Seneca cites from him such doctrines as, *nulla vis humana divinae resisteret maiestati*;⁸ and, *deorum voluntatem ab hominibus non intellegi*.⁹ One of Fuscus' *suasoriae* contained a rather full attack on divination. The situation of the *suasoria* is as follows: Alexander the Great is deliberating whether to enter Babylon, since a soothsayer has declared that it would be dangerous for him to do so. Fuscus, undertaking to persuade Alexander to enter the city, attempts to discredit the soothsayer by means of certain philosophical arguments against the possibility of predicting the future by divination. This same topic was also used by Fuscus in one of his *controversiae*.¹⁰

It would be unwarranted, of course, to as-

sume that since the rhetoricians used philosophy as a device of rhetorical technique, therefore the poets also used philosophy as a part of their poetic technique. But the gap between poet and rhetorician was not very wide in Augustan times; and in Ovid's case there can be no doubt that he knew of the rhetoricians' practices, since Seneca tells us that Ovid was a pupil of that very Fuscus whose use of philosophy we have just examined.¹¹ Ovid himself composed *controversiae* and *suasoriae*, though he preferred *suasoriae*; he rarely declaimed *controversiae*, and then only ethical ones (*declamabat autem Naso raro controversias et non nisi ethicas; libentius dicebat suasorias*).¹² It should not be surprising, then, if Ovid selects and uses in his poems philosophical themes according to the criterion of their appropriateness to his poetic subject.

Philosophy and Characterization

BUT BEFORE PASSING to Ovid, I wish to point out as a third circumstance relating to poetry and philosophy the comments on philosophy in Horace's *Art of Poetry*. Speaking particularly of drama, Horace recommends that the poet study the *Socraticae chartae*.¹³ He states that the poet who has learned his duty toward fatherland and friends knows how to assign what is proper to each character in his drama:

ille profecto
reddere personae scit convenientia cuique.¹⁴

In other words the study of philosophy is useful in helping the poet achieve propriety in his dramatic characterizations. This notion of propriety or appropriateness is prominent not only in Horace's ethical views but also in his aesthetics, as is indicated by the opening passage of the *Ars Poetica*:

Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam
iungere si velit, . . .¹⁵

It would not be an unreasonable extension of this view to maintain that the criterion of appropriateness is applied also to the selection of philosophical doctrine to be used in poetical works.

Clear evidence that such an extension was actually made emerges from an examination of Ovid's use of philosophy. Ovid wrote a great variety of poems, and he used at one time or another a wide range of philosophical doctrines. It would, I think, be futile to collect these doctrines, arrange them into a system, and call it Ovid's philosophy. It would be much more fruitful to view each instance of philosophical doctrine as appropriate to the context in which it appears, and to recognize from the start that for Ovid the use of philosophy is simply a part of poetic technique.

The Story of Creation

LET US EXAMINE first of all a passage in the *Fasti*. In giving his account of the month of January, Ovid finds it necessary to explain the nature of the god Janus.¹⁶ He portrays Janus as appearing to him, explaining that he is identical with Chaos, that is, with the original *acervus*, or mass, of fire, air, water and earth prior to their separation from one another to form the world and the universe.¹⁷ Janus even points to his two faces as evidence of his former chaotic shape.¹⁸ Here are certain familiar philosophical doctrines of the four elements, their relation to each other, and the process of differentiation by which they came to constitute the universe. These ideas are very common in ancient philosophy. Ovid could easily have derived them from the Stoics, though they are actually much older than Stoicism.¹⁹ For convenience I shall call this the Stoic view of creation. The philosophical interpretation of the god Janus in terms of the four elements and their orderly arrangement under the supervision of a divine power increases tremendously the scope and significance of the god, by assigning to him not only the beginning of the year, but also of the universe. The practice of explaining the nature of the gods in philosophical terms was itself a characteristic feature of Stoicism,²⁰ and the particular doctrine used by Ovid in this passage was well suited to his purpose of accounting for Janus. He could not have used, for instance, a doctrine such as the Epicurean, that the world was the result of chance combinations of atoms, for it provides no place

for a god of beginnings. Our test of appropriateness, then, appears to be applicable to this instance of Ovid's use of philosophy.

Epicurean Creation

THE STORY of creation occurs again in the *Art of Love*, Book II, lines 467 ff., in an entirely different context and for a different purpose. The theme of this passage is that love softens anger. To elaborate this theme Ovid goes back to the very beginning of the world. The statement of the origin of the world is here taken from Epicurean sources. Creation is explained not in terms of the differentiation of the four elements, as it was in the *Fasti*, but rather as the disposition of the three regions of the universe: the sky with its stars, the earth, and the sea:

Unaque erat facies sidera, terra, fretum;
mox caelum inpositum terris, humus aequore
cinctast;
inque suas partes cessit inane chaos.²¹

Compare with this passage Lucretius 5.416-418:

Sed quibus ille modis coniectus materiai
fundarit terram et caelum pontique profunda,
solis lunai cursus, ex ordine ponam.

Moreover, the *inane chaos* of Ovid suggests the Epicurean empty space, which Lucretius calls *inane*.²² A conspicuous difference between this account of creation and that found in the *Fasti* is that here Ovid mentions no divine agent. Lucretius, of course, specifically denies that the universe was formed by an intelligent mind (*sagaci mente*).²³ Furthermore, the account of primitive life in the *Art of Love* is very similar to the Lucretian account in the fifth book of the *De Rerum Natura*. Both Lucretius and Ovid picture primitive men as living in the forests, eating whatever nature provided, and sleeping on boughs or bushes.²⁴ It is even more significant that Lucretius and Ovid alike attribute the softening of man's hard nature to the power of love;²⁵ for Ovid introduced the story of creation into his poem in order to illustrate the power of love, and the Lucretian account of the original process of softening in the development of human life was therefore very

appropriate to Ovid's theme. Hence the criterion of appropriateness enables us to explain why a Stoic doctrine of creation was used in the *Fasti*, and an Epicurean account in the *Art of Love*.

There is still a third occurrence of the creation story in the opening lines of the *Metamorphoses*, where Ovid is introducing the theme of this work, namely, changes of form. In this context he finds it appropriate to stress the process of change from an original undifferentiated chaos to a universe of order and harmony.²⁶ He uses the doctrine of the separation of the four elements, fire, air, water, and earth, under divine guidance. The appropriateness of this doctrine is indicated by the lines:

Sic erat instabilis tellus, innabilis unda,
lucis egens aer: nulli sua forma manebat.²⁷

The Epicurean view of permanent indestructible atoms that resist all change would have been out of place here, whereas the Stoic elements readily change into one another.²⁸ A second feature here, as in the *Fasti*, is the emphasis on a divine agent who put the world in order and who created man.²⁹ This divine agent was needed in the *Fasti* to account for the god Janus; he is needed here in the *Metamorphoses* in anticipation of the mythological machinery utilized later in the poem to account for changes of form.

Eclectic Techniques

IT SHOULD be noted that although the doctrine of creation used by Ovid in the *Fasti* and the *Metamorphoses* has several features in common with Stoicism, and has been referred to for convenience as the Stoic view, there is no reason to suppose that Ovid abstained from blending the doctrines of various philosophical schools even within a single passage, if such a combination suited his ends. There is evidence, for instance, of some Lucretian influence in the passage of the *Metamorphoses* just discussed, and some commentators have seen in it borrowings from Empedocles and Anaxagoras.³⁰ A much clearer example of the technique of uniting in a single context the doctrines of various schools may be found in the fifteenth book of

the *Metamorphoses*, where Ovid introduces the philosopher Pythagoras instructing King Numa. After warning the king against eating meat (75-142), Pythagoras explains that the soul does not die, but simply passes to another body:

Morte carent animae semperque priore relictæ
sede novis domibus vivunt habitantque receptæ.³¹

And just as wax, he says, easily assumes new shapes, and does not preserve its form unchanged, yet is actually the same thing, so the soul is always the same, but it passes into various forms.³² And since the souls of men pass into animals, and the souls of animals into men,³³ we should refrain from killing animals that are really our kin.³⁴ Let us leave untouched the bodies of animals which might have held the souls of our parents or brothers, lest we heap our tables with Thyestean banquets.³⁵

Borrowings from Pythagoreans

THE APPROPRIATENESS of this Pythagorean doctrine to the theme of the *Metamorphoses* hardly needs to be pointed out. It fits perfectly, for instance, the story of Callisto and Arcas, for Callisto was changed into a bear, and her son Arcas, while hunting, happened upon her and would have killed her had not Jupiter intervened.³⁶ Arcas could certainly have profited from Pythagoras' injunction not to kill animals, lest by mistake we kill our parents.

But Ovid is not content with giving us merely the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration of souls. He extends the idea of change to include not merely souls, but all things whatever:

... nihil est toto, quod perstet, in orbe.
Cuncta fluunt, omnisque, vagans formatur imago.
Ipsa quoque adsiduo labuntur tempora motu,
non secus ac flumen.³⁷

This doctrine, though put by Ovid in the mouth of Pythagoras, is of course the famous Heraclitean view that all things flow, nothing abides. The reason why Ovid included it is clear enough: it provides an even more universal expression of the theme of the *Metamorphoses*, the changes of form. By way of

amplification of this Heraclitean doctrine Ovid lists a number of examples, one of which is the change of the four elements into one another—a doctrine held by many ancient philosophers, including the Stoics.³⁸ Next comes a statement that to be born is simply to begin to be something different from what was before; and to die is to cease being the same as before:

Sed variat faciemque novat, nascique vocatur
incipere esse aliud, quam quod fuit ante, morique
desinere illud idem.³⁹

This doctrine is also very common, appearing all the way from Heraclitus to Lucretius.⁴⁰ Ovid then lists examples of change from land to sea, or sea to land, and the disappearance of rivers into the earth.⁴¹ He probably took this list from some Hellenistic book of marvels. In any case he could not have found all the marvels in any work of Pythagoras, since they include the change of the city of Tyre from an island to a peninsula, an event that did not occur until the time of Alexander the Great.⁴²

Philosophy and Myth

THE UNIFYING element in the speech of Pythagoras to Numa, then, is not the unity of a single philosophical system, but simply the fact that all the parts of the speech bear on the central theme of change of form.⁴³ Pythagoras' speech provides the philosophical equivalent to, and explanation of, the series of mythological changes of form related in the preceding books. The criterion of appropriateness is therefore once more applicable to Ovid's selection and adaptation of philosophical doctrines. Yet there is still a further point to be observed here. In joining philosophy to mythology Ovid has added a certain richness to his poem, but in another sense he has combined two things that do not go together; for no school of ancient philosophy would seriously consider the possibility of accepting on philosophical grounds the fantastic tales of the *Metamorphoses*. Ovid's device of philosophizing the myths can only be considered as an entertaining paradox, not as a serious intellectual effort. But even this incongruity between myth and philos-

ophy is appropriate to Ovid's poem; for, although Ovid himself lists the *Metamorphoses* among his more serious efforts,⁴⁴ yet it has many features of the *lusus*, the light and entertaining poetry that was so popular among the Augustans. Now to introduce serious and profound thoughts into such a poem would be to destroy its dominant mood, unless the serious thoughts are themselves put into a context that destroys their seriousness. So Ovid, by an incongruous combination of philosophy and myth, has been able to use philosophical doctrines as devices for creating a non-philosophical mood.

This effective use of incongruity is even more remarkable in Ovid's love poems, where one would least expect to find the severe doctrines of the moralists, since moralists generally disapprove of those who cultivate the passion of love. But the ancient love poets devised a technique for utilizing those very doctrines by which they were condemned. The device is simply this: the highest good of the moralists becomes in the poets the passion of love; and all the moral precepts which in the philosophers are directed toward the highest good, are in the poets directed toward love. An example of this technique may be seen in Horace's *Integer Vitae* (*Odes* 1.22). Horace, you remember, praises virtuous conduct as a kind of protection, citing as evidence his own experience with a wolf in the Sabine woods. But when he comes to tell us just what he was doing that was so upright, we find that it simply consisted in loving his Lalage.⁴⁵

Absence of Moral Purpose

THIS LINKING of moral teaching and amatory themes produces an incongruous effect which immediately betrays the absence of serious moral purpose. Yet as the love poetry of the Augustans is for the most part intended to be light and entertaining, this very incongruity between moral teaching and amatory theme increases the charm of the poem. So in terms of the poet's intention the combination of incongruous elements is very effective. In this sense we may say that here again the poet selects and adapts philosophical doc-

trines to fit into the context of his poem.

Here is an example from Ovid. In the *Amores* 3.8 Ovid inveighs against gold much in the vein of the satirists. He points out that the greed for wealth has caused unhappiness and war, that the world was better when gold was hidden in the earth, and when men were valued for their *ingenium*, not their *aurum*. These lofty sentiments are very noble indeed; but they receive a specific application to Ovid's own experience, as presented in the poem, which quite destroys their moral worth. It seems that Ovid had a rival for his mistress' affections, and this rival had plenty of money to offer the girl, whereas Ovid could offer her nothing but his poems. The girl, of course, preferred the money, and Ovid sang to a closed door. It turns out, then, that wealth is bad because someone else's wealth is an obstacle to Ovid's love.

This curious perversion of moral doctrine occurs again in *Amores* 3.11, where Ovid makes a contrast between his own patience and endurance, and his mistress' infidelity and deceit. Ovid says:

Perfer et obdura! dolor hic tibi proderit olim;
saepe tulit lassus sucus amarus opem.⁴⁶

This sentiment might truly seem worthy of a tyrant's victim until we recall that Ovid is talking merely about enduring his mistress' infidelity.

A third example may be found in the *Remedia Amoris*. In this work Ovid gives a series of precepts by which an unhappy or unwelcome love may be checked or overcome. He first prescribes the proper time for the cure, advising that the passion be checked early, before it has had time to grow (*Rem.* 79-81); or, if it has already reached its height, he prefers to wait until the passion has cooled a bit, when the lover permits his wounds to be touched (*cum sua vulnera tangi iam sinet*), and is ready to listen to reason (*Rem.* 125-26).

Having found the proper occasion for treatment, Ovid now recommends that the patient must first of all avoid leisure:

Fac monitis fugias otia prima meis.⁴⁷

The best way to avoid leisure is to find something to do. You may take up the practice of law (151), or go to war (153), or buy a farm (169), or go hunting (199), or take a long trip (214). If these remedies fail you, try dividing your love between two mistresses (399 ff.), get yourself a new love who will help you forget your former one (441, 462). It helps, too, to reflect constantly on your mistress' faults (315). Or perhaps over-indulgence will cure you, through sheer weariness and boredom (533-542).

Such are a few of Ovid's precepts. Strangely enough, similar precepts occur in the moralists, for instance, in the *Tusculan Disputations*, where Cicero is prescribing cures for the various passions. Of the lover he says:

Abducendus etiam est non numquam ad alia studia, sollicitudines, curas, negotia; loci denique mutatione tamquam aegroti non convalescentes saepe curandus est; etiam novo quidam amore veterem amorem tamquam clavo clavum eiciendum putant.⁴⁸

A little further on Cicero also mentions satiety as a cure.⁴⁹ But this passage from Cicero is only one instance of a very common philosophical theme, namely, the control or suppression of passion. Seneca wrote a lengthy work on anger, which reveals some similarities with Ovid's remedies,⁵⁰ and of course Lucretius warned against the evils of love in Book IV of the *De Rerum Natura*. Indeed the similarities between Ovid and Lucretius on this topic are so great that one investigator of the problem, Karl Prinz, suggested that we should look to Lucretius rather than Cicero or the Stoics for Ovid's immediate source.⁵¹ Lucretius, like Ovid, recommends that the passion of love may best be avoided if you turn your attention elsewhere, and if you find a substitute love (4.1063-1067); that it is best to check the passion early, before it has completely ensnared you (1144-1148); but that even at that late date you may be saved if you do not blind yourself to your mistress' faults (1149-1152).

Whatever we may decide about Ovid's sources, it is safe to conclude that he borrowed from the moralists certain precepts about the cure of love, and that by so doing

he gave his *Remedies* a pretense of serious moral purpose.⁵² This moral pretense, however, is throughout contrasted with the author's obvious partiality toward the passion he claims to be remedying. Or rather, he does not even claim to be attacking love generally; he specifically asserts that he has not recanted his treatment of love as an art (*Rem.* 11-12). He is merely prescribing means of putting an end to a love that has become a source of misery and that has all but driven the lover to suicide (*Rem.* 21-22). The precepts of the *Remedia*, therefore, are intended not as instruments for repressing the passion of love generally, but for insuring that it will be successful and happy. Here is another example, then, of Ovid's adaptation of moral precepts to an end quite the opposite of that for which the philosophers intended them; and this incongruity of ends and means, this quasi-serious treatment of a light and playful theme, does much to give the *Remedia* its peculiar quality as a literary work.

Technician to the Last

BUT THE PLAYFUL tone that characterizes many of Ovid's poems disappears in the *Tristia* and the *Letters from Pontus*, which were written after his exile (8 A.D.). In the face of his misfortune Ovid became sober and reflective. In this more serious mood he turned once more to the philosophers, and he found perhaps a deeper meaning in their doctrines. Yet so far as we may judge from his poems, he retained even then the attitude that philosophical doctrines provide a suitable device for heightening an effect, rather than that they are valuable in themselves as aids in understanding the world or in overcoming its evils. For Ovid still refuses to adopt any one constant view of his misfortune. As his mood varies from one poem to another, the philosophic doctrines by which he supports his mood also tend to vary. It is this fact that leads me to believe that even to the last Ovid subordinated philosophy to poetic technique.

Let me illustrate this point by contrasting two poems in the third book of the *Tristia*. In the seventh poem of this book there is a

note of defiance and triumph in Ovid's attitude toward his exile:

Singula ne referam, nil non mortale tenemus
pectoris exceptis ingenique bonis.
En ego, cum caream patria vobisque domoque,
raptaque sint, adimi quae potuere mihi,
ingenio tamen ipse meo comitorque fruorque;
Caesar in hoc potuit iuris habere nihil.
Quilibet hanc saevo vitam mihi finiat ense,
me tamen extincto fama superstes erit,
dumque suis victrix omnem de montibus orbem
prospiciet domitum Martia Roma, legar.⁵³

This elevation of the goods of the mind above country, home, and life itself is indeed worthy of a Stoic, and the assertion that these higher goods are beyond the reach of Caesar's power could hardly have been better expressed by Epictetus himself.⁵⁴ This passage occurs in a poem addressed to the poetess Perilla, encouraging her to continue her literary work, and not to be discouraged by Ovid's sad fate. Ovid recommends the pursuit of poetry on the ground that poetry raises one above the hazards of life, and he points to himself as proof, declaring that his poetic *ingenium* is the one good thing that he still possesses in his exile. The notion that by his poems he will triumph over death occurs frequently in Ovid, most conspicuously perhaps at the close of the *Metamorphoses*; and the combination of that idea with the Stoic doctrine of triumph over a tyrant's sword produces an effective and moving passage. Ovid has once more found an appropriate occasion for the introduction of a philosophical doctrine, and he has been highly successful in achieving the intended effect.

Philosophy for Effect

BUT OVID is not Epictetus. It is the effect, not the philosophy, that is primary for Ovid. The philosophy is a means, a device, for creating the effect. No better evidence of this could be found than the contrasting effect achieved in the fourth poem of this same book of the *Tristia*, and the contrasting philosophy by which that effect is achieved. In this fourth poem the feeling of defiance and triumph is entirely lacking. Ovid advises a friend:

Usibus edocto si quicquam credis amico,
vive tibi et longe nomina magna fuge.⁴⁴

In other words, Ovid recognizes that if he had not been a famous person and a friend of famous people, he would not have been exiled. His advice to his friend, therefore, is to avoid fame by all means. This advice is reinforced by various familiar themes, and at one point Ovid introduces the lines:

Crede mihi, bene qui latuit bene vixit, et intra
fortunam debet quisque manere suam.⁴⁵

Here may be recognized the characteristic Epicurean precept, *lathe biōsas*: live unnoticed.

A comparison of the two poems just discussed indicates clearly how the shifts in Ovid's attitude toward his exile are paralleled by shifts in the philosophical doctrine he employs. In the fourth poem he regards fame as evil, since it led him to his ruin. In the seventh poem he regards his fame as good, since it alone survives his misfortunes. In the fourth poem he advises his friend to avoid the hazards of fortune by lying low and escaping notice; in the seventh he advises his friend to rise above the hazards of fortune by seeking a lasting fame which is the one thing that fortune cannot destroy. In each case the philosophy reinforces the dominant mood of the poem.

We may conclude that Ovid, like the other Augustan poets, was obviously familiar with and interested in the various philosophies of his time, but was not himself a philosopher; that is, he did not engage in the kind of systematic inquiry and reasoning that one expects of a philosopher. He resembled the other Augustans also in that he did not restrict himself to any one philosophy, but used doctrines of various schools without making any attempt to establish any consistency among them. In view of these facts I am suggesting that he conceived of philosophy not as a perennial search for truth, but rather as a collection of doctrines which could be effectively used on appropriate occasions in literary works. He seems even to have developed a conscious technique for incorporating philosophical material into his poems,

regarding philosophy as a repository of poetic material comparable to the available collections of historical and mythological material.

This suggestion is not intended to imply that for the Augustan poets generally philosophy was nothing more than a technique, or that the poets were utterly unconcerned with the truth of the doctrines they selected for use. In Ovid's case, probably, truth counted for very little—I doubt that he believed Pythagoras' philosophy, or that he was much impressed by the moralists. That is why Ovid reveals most clearly the purely technical side of this process. Horace and Vergil, surely, were much more seriously concerned with philosophical questions, and for that reason their technique is less transparent. Yet the fact that they developed a method for utilizing to the fullest advantage their rich philosophical heritage is one of the utmost importance; for the skilful combination of philosophical doctrine with epic, lyric, or elegiac themes accounts for much of the distinctive greatness of the Augustan poets.

NOTES

¹ This paper was read before a meeting of the Chicago Classical Club on May 5, 1945.

² E. L. Highbarger, *The Gates of Dreams: An Archaeological Examination of Vergil, Aeneid 6.893-899* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1940).

³ Stoic doctrines occur, for instance, in *Odes* 3.2; 3.3; 4.9, 34 ff.; Epicurean doctrines in *Odes* 1.11; 2.16.

⁴ T. Frank (*Vergil, A Biography* [New York, Henry Holt, 1922]) was an ardent advocate of Vergil's Epicureanism. Cf. especially pages 109, 183.

⁵ For example, Vergil was a pupil of the Epicurean Siro: Servius, *Comm. on Aen.* 6.264; *Ecl.* 6.13. Horace studied at the Academy: *Epp.* 2.2.43. Cicero's son studied with Cratippus: Cicero, *De Officiis* 1.1.

⁶ *Controv.* 7.6.18.

⁷ *Controv.* 1.1.16: Fuscus illum colorem introduxit, quo frequenter uti solebat, religionis.

⁸ *Controv.* 1.2.17.

⁹ *Suas.* 3.3.

¹⁰ *Suas.* 4. For other examples of philosophical doctrine in rhetoric see *Controv.* 1.3.8; 2.1.1, 4-7, 10-13, 20-21, 25; 2.6.2; 9.1.11; 10.4.18. Cicero and Quintilian both emphasize the usefulness of philosophy to the orator.

¹¹ *Controv.* 2.2.8.

¹² *Controv.* 2.2.12.

¹³ *Ars Poet.* 310.

¹⁴ *Ars Poet.* 315-316.

¹⁵ *Ars Poet.* 1-2. J. F. D'Alton, *Roman Literary*

Theory and Criticism (London and New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1931) 423 ff., discusses at some length the importance of decorum in Horace's thought.

¹⁶ *Fasti* 1.89 ff.

¹⁷ *Fasti* 1.103-110.

¹⁸ *Fasti* 1.113-114.

¹⁹ Cf. F. E. Robbins, "The Creation Story in Ovid *Met.* 1." *Class. Philol.* 8 (1913) 401-414.

²⁰ Cf. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 2.60 ff.

²¹ *Ars Amat.* 2.468-470.

²² Lucretius 1.330.

²³ Lucretius 5.420.

²⁴ Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2.475; cf. Lucretius 5.925 ff., esp. 943-944, 955-956.

²⁵ Lucretius 5.1011-18; Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 2.477. This theme is, to be sure, a commonplace. It occurs also in *Fasti* 4.107-108 and Cicero, *De Officiis* 1.54. Cf. H. Fränkel, Ovid: A Poet between Two Worlds (Sather Classical Lectures XVIII, Berkeley and Los Angeles, Univ. of California Press, 1945) 62-63, 203.

²⁶ H. Fränkel, *op. cit.*, p. 209, note 6, has pointed out that the meaning of the word chaos in *Met.* 1.7 is quite different from its meaning in *Ars Amat.* 2.470.

²⁷ *Met.* 1.16-17.

²⁸ Cf. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 2.84.

²⁹ Ovid, *Met.* 1.21 ff.

³⁰ Cf. F. E. Robbins, *op. cit.*, and the notes in Haupt's edition (9th ed. revised by R. Ewald, Berlin, Weidmann, 1915).

³¹ *Met.* 15.158-159.

³² *Met.* 15.169-172.

³³ *Met.* 15.167-168.

³⁴ *Met.* 15.173-175.

³⁵ *Met.* 15.455-462.

³⁶ *Met.* 2.476-507.

³⁷ *Met.* 15.177-180.

³⁸ *Met.* 15.237-251; cf. note 28 above.

³⁹ *Met.* 15.255-257.

⁴⁰ Cf. Heraclitus, frags. 25, 68 (Bywater); Lucretius 1.670-671.

⁴¹ *Met.* 15.262 ff.

⁴² *Met.* 15.288.

⁴³ It is of course possible that Ovid used a source in which he found these various doctrines already combined. The prevalent opinion seems to be that he drew his material from Varro: see A. Schmekel, *De Ovidiana Pythagorae Doctrinae Adumbratione*. Diss. Griefswald 1885, and *Die Philosophie der Mittleren Stoa* (Berlin, 1892) 128-129, 434-436; and G. Lafaye, *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide* (Paris, 1904) Chapter x, pp. 191-223. The catalogue of wonders, however (lines 307 ff.),

cannot be from Varro, according to C. Landi, "Quaestiones Doxographicae et Paradoxographicae ad Lucretium et Ovidium praecipue Spectantes," *Accad. di Scienze lettere ed arti, Atti e Memorie* 27 (Padova, 1910-1911) 61-87. A. Rostagni, *Il Verbo di Pitagora* (Torino, 1924) 250-293, maintains that the Ovidian passage presents the actual teaching of Pythagoras in large measure, whereas C. Pascal, "La Dottrina Pitagorica e la Eraclitea nelle Metamorfosi Ovidiane," *Scritti Varii* (Torino, 1920) 207-214, believes that the passage is eclectic. Fränkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-109, 224-225, believes that Sotion may have been the source of Ovid's inspiration. In the absence of conclusive evidence the problem must remain unsolved.

⁴⁴ *Tristia* 2.548, 555-556.

⁴⁵ This interpretation of the poem seems to conform on the whole to G. L. Hendrickson's view in "Integer Vitae," *CLASS. JOURN.* 5 (1909-1910), 250-258.

⁴⁶ *Amores* 3.11.7-8.

⁴⁷ *Rem. Am.* 136.

⁴⁸ Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 4.75. Cf. M. Pohlenz, *De Ovidi Carminibus Amatoriis* (Göttingen, 1913), note on pp. 20-21; R. Philippson, "Das Dritte und Vierte Buch der Tusculanen," *Hermes* 67 (1932) 245-294, esp. 291; and R. Philippson, "Papyrus Herculaneensis 831," *Am. Journ. Philol.* 64 (1943) 148-162.

⁴⁹ Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 4.76.

⁵⁰ E.g. in *De Ira* 2.20 he recommends diversions; in 2.21.6 he warns against idleness; in 3.10 and 39 he speaks of the proper occasion for cure.

⁵¹ Cf. Karl Prinz, "Untersuchungen zu Ovids Remedia Amoris," *Wiener Studien* 36 (1914) 36-83, esp. 57-63.

⁵² Cf. the lines (*Rem.* 53-54):

Utile propositum est aevae extinguere flammam,
nec servum vitii pectus habere sui.

⁵³ *Tristia* 3.7(8).43-52.

⁵⁴ Cf. Epictetus, *Discourses* 4.7.14 for the Stoic attitude toward exile; cf. also the consolation on exile in the *Fasti* 1.479-496, and the discussion of it by R. Wünsch, "Zu Ovids Fasten Buch I und II," *Rhein. Mus.* 56 (1901) 392-403, and A. Giesecke, *De Philosophorum Veterum quae ad Exilium Spectant Sententiae*. Leipzig, 1891.

⁵⁵ *Tristia* 3.4.3-4. It is unclear, as Fränkel (*op. cit.*, p. 228, note 4) has pointed out, whether Ovid blames his fall to any degree on his fame as a poet, or merely on his associations with prominent persons. But it seems likely that he conceives of the latter as arising from the former, so that his fame as a poet is at least indirectly responsible.

⁵⁶ *Tristia* 3.4.25-26.

In our January issue—

"HUMANISTIC CULTURE IN EARLY VIRGINIA

By Herbert C. Lipscomb

—Liber Animalium

THE TORTOISE

ANTIQUITUS, cum Homerus lyram florentem plecteret, testudo mortua summam musicae dulcis augebat atque per multa saecula in aulis regiis domibusque divitibus putamen eius vel quattuor vel septem chordis aptum delectamentum suave praebebat. Nunc ex testudine misera ius fit. In mari meridionali bestia ingentissima captata in navem conicitur atque post navigationem longam cultro coci mortem crudelem obit. Utrum plus valet, ars an ius? Profecto melius fuit ut ex testudine saltem pectines fierent, quod nuper erat mos. Nunc etiam pectines aliter fiunt ex materia plastica. Tempus tamen progreditur ac testudo tarda longe relinquitur.

Testudo re vera serpens brevis est pedibus domoque praedita. In terra deprensa salutis causa caput pedesque ex conspectu subducere potest, cauda parvula solum exserta. Omnibus paene in terris gignitur, locis frigidis exceptis.

Genera sunt plurima et terrestria et aquatilia. Maior pars tamen aquam mavult vel dulcem vel marinam, quamquam terram semper petit ad ova parienda, quibus plurimis in loco arenoso depositis, mater quam celerrime potest in aquam redit. Labor incubandi sole fervido efficitur. Ovis ruptis pulluli naturae instinctu aquam petunt. Parentes prolem neque nisi forte vident neque agnoscunt neque diligunt. Ante omnia tranquillitate fruuntur. Mos est earum vel in ligno vel in lapide ex aqua eminenti horam ex hora in sole sedere. Vigilant autem atque hoste procul conspecto in aquam cito se praecipitant. Mutae maximam partem sunt sed aliquae sibilant atque mares ingentissimi maris meridionalis sicut tauri vel alligatores mugiunt. Talis est eorum cantus amatorius.

ANON.

BOOKS AND WORLD RECOVERY

THE DESPERATE and continued need for American publications to serve as tools of physical and intellectual reconstruction abroad has been made vividly apparent by appeals from men of learning in many lands, and from Americans who have seen that need. The American Book Center for War Devastated Libraries has, during the past year and a half, shipped nearly 1,000,000 volumes of highly selected books and periodicals abroad.

The Book Center, continuing its program through 1947, is making a renewed appeal for

donations of books and periodicals, for publications of intellectual merit in all fields, and particularly for volumes published during the last ten years. Of special value are complete or incomplete files of *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL*. Such donations to this program will help in the reconstruction which must preface world understanding and peace.

Ship contributions to the American Book Center, c/o the Library of Congress, Washington 25, D. C., freight prepaid, or write to the Book Center for further information.

REPRINTS OF "WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU SPEAK?"

SO FREQUENT have been requests for extra copies of Fred S. Dunham's article, "What Language Do You Speak?" in the May issue of *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* (dealing with Latin and Greek derivatives in English) that the editors have secured an extra supply of reprints for classroom use. These may be purchased at 15¢ each, or 10¢ each in orders of more than 10. Address *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, Washington University, St. Louis 5, Missouri.

Guesses—
Reasonable
Unreasonable
Impossible

The Early Roman Calendar

Bernard Melzar Allen

WHAT FOLLOWS is largely a critical examination of an article in THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL of November, 1944, entitled "The Pre Caesarian Calendar: Facts and Reasonable Guesses," by Professor H. J. Rose, of the University of St. Andrews, Scotland. Mr. Rose is also the author of the article on Roman Calendars in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th Edition, and of a book, entitled *Primitive Culture in Italy*, published in 1926, and covering the same subject.

After a careful reading of the JOURNAL article, it seemed to me that the qualities most needed for such a discussion (in addition, of course, to adequate research), and perhaps somewhat lacking in that article, were logical analysis and mathematical accuracy. Since there is very little to guide us in Latin literature concerning early calendars except traditions, reported, in most cases, centuries after what they describe, and often demonstrably false,¹ we must be content to remain in ignorance of many details, and must keep our guesses within reasonable range of probability and consistent with each other, as well as with those elements of probable truth contained in certain traditions which, taken as a whole, cannot be true. But we can be sure that the movements of the heavenly bodies, real and apparent, and also the elementary principles of arithmetic, were the same then as they are now.

Early Roman calendars, like almost all primitive calendars, must have been com-

posed of lunar months, only 44 minutes longer than $29\frac{1}{2}$ days. Scholars had long been puzzled, therefore, by a tradition of a ten-month year in the earliest Roman calendar, and various explanations were attempted, most of them unconvincing, and some fantastic.² A clear and simple explanation, now generally accepted, was first proposed by a German chronologer, Hartmann, who suggested (in 1882) that this calendar covered the ten months of the vegetation year.³ Such a year, of course, is entirely analogous to the nine-month year and calendar of our schools and colleges. Early calendars were essentially lists of religious festivals, and there was evidently, and for fairly obvious reasons, no such festival or observance in those winter months important enough to be listed and dated. In 1920, M. P. Nilsson, of the University of Lund, Sweden, in his book, *Primitive Time-Reckoning*, to which Mr. Rose repeatedly refers, gives multiplied instances of similar short calendars among primitive agricultural peoples. It is upon this work, which represents wide exploration and careful examination of primitive calendars, both ancient and modern, that most of my general statements are based.

Winter Months

ROSE'S DESCRIPTION of this ten-month year is clear and to the point, but I think he seriously overemphasizes the dulness, not so much of those winter months as of the people who

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lived through them, when he pictures them in semi-hibernation, just eating and sleeping, and not even counting the two or three months as they passed by, although the longer hours of darkness and the slackening of farm work would give better opportunity to observe the heavens, while the discomforts and privations of the winter from cold and smoky dwellings, with supplies of food and fuel which must often have needed rationing, would seem to have made it just the time when people would be most likely to count the days (in this case, the new moons) before relief could come. Moreover, it is hard to believe that the priests in charge of the calendar, whose business it was for ten months to observe and count the new moons, or that the more intelligent farmers as well, did not know definitely that at least two months always intervened between December and March, and about how often an extra month must come in to keep New Year's Day as close as possible to its proper place in the seasons. Nilsson says that "the moon strikes the attention of everyone and admits of immediate and unpractised observation. At the most, there may sometimes be some doubt for a day as to the observation of the new moon, but the next day will set all right." And again, "the short interval defined by it [the moon] is easily kept in mind and taken in at a glance."⁴

Double Counting

THESE TEN MONTHS were said by tradition to include 304 days, although 10 successive lunar months could not possibly cover much over 295 days. Mr. Joseph Dwight had already presented, in *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* of May, 1944, a convincing explanation of this discrepancy. These months began and ended with the new moon, observed just after sunset, so that this day belonged both to the new and to the old month, and was counted in both, though the addition, giving a total of 304 days, must have been done long afterward, when the double counting had been forgotten. Mr. Dwight might have added that the Greeks, who stuck to their lunar months throughout their whole historic period, called this day *ἐννὰ καὶ νέα ἡμέρα*,

the day of the old month and the new. Rose has clearly indicated his acceptance of the 304 day year,⁵ but does not attempt to explain it.

Standard Primitive Calendar

The tradition, or assumption, that the pre-Caesarian calendar-maker added two months to the first ten, at about the time the calendar was adopted, is, I believe, highly improbable. The basic 355-day year of the pre-Caesarian calendar with its 31 and 29-day months, only 15 hours longer than a 12-lunar-month year, was very clearly carried over from a previous 12-lunar-month calendar. Such a calendar, with an extra month intercalated when needed (about three times in eight years),⁶ and with each month beginning with the new moon, observed or easily calculated, may be called the standard type of primitive calendar, almost universally used at some period, and often for centuries, by civilized and semi-civilized nations the world around—Chinese, Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, American Indians; and still used by Mohammedans and Orthodox Jews, and, to a less extent, by Catholic and Protestant churches in connection with Easter. That the Romans should never have used this standard type of calendar would in itself be very strange, but that they jumped from that very primitive ten-month calendar to the pre-Caesarian calendar which had no connection with the new moon, and yet had, for its basic year, a 12-month lunar year which they had never used before, is so near an impossibility as to be safely disregarded.

At some undetermined point, therefore, after this 12-month lunar year was adopted—and very likely a long time after, a definite number of days was assigned to each month—the 31 and 29 day arrangement that we are familiar with—and this was carried over, as before indicated, into the pre-Caesarian calendar. Let us consider now, in some detail, various statements by Mr. Rose in the *JOURNAL* article about this calendar.

He says (70) that "the author of this calendar . . . being committed to lunar months, could not put things right by adding 10 days

or so to each year, for that would have prevented the next year from starting, as it should under any such scheme as this, with a new moon. He therefore, like Greek calendar makers, inserted, or intercalated, a whole month from time to time, and called it *Intercalaris*." Rose's only excuse for saying that this calendar-maker was 'committed to lunar months' is the fact that the calendar's basic year, without intercalations (apparently brought over from the previous calendar to avoid making too many changes), nearly equaled 12 lunar months; but what he means, as he goes on to tell us, is that these months must begin with the new moon, which is just what they did not do, being like our own months in that respect.⁷ But his assertion of this 'commitment' with its clear implications, may be responsible for his next quite inaccurate statement about a 'whole month,' for such a 'commitment' would have required a whole month's interval.

He adds, in reference to the name *Intercalaris*, "Despite its name, it did not, strictly speaking, come between the Kalends of one month and those of the next, for its place was after the Terminalia, and the date of that was *ante diem sextum kalendas Martias*, or, as we call it, February 23." He apparently considers *Intercalaris* equivalent to *Intercalendaris*, instead of meaning, as it does, a proclaimed interval. If it really meant what he thinks it does, it would indeed be a queer name for the only month that did not come between the Kalends of one month and those of the next, a real *lucus a non*.

It is a little harder to understand his astounding, though unimportant, blunder in calling the sixth day before the March Kalends the 23rd of February. This might better, perhaps, be called an obsession of his, for he said the same thing 20 years before, in *Primitive Culture in Italy*,⁸ and again in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. In a slightly different statement about the intercalary month in *Primitive Culture in Italy*,⁹ he says, "The pre-Caesarian calendar . . . intercalated another month at intervals. In a leap year, February stopped at the Terminalia, the 23rd. Then began an intercalary month of 28

or 29 days, whose last 5 days were the remaining days of February." If he had thought to subtract his figure 5 from his figures 28 and 29, he might have noticed that this operation would give intercalary periods one day too long.

In the JOURNAL article (71) Rose goes on to contradict his previous story, six lines back, about the intercalation of a "whole month" by stating the fairly well known fact that "its length was less than a full month, being but 22 or 23 days" (not 'like Greek calendar makers'). He then adds, "If we may believe our best authority, Censorinus, it was inserted every other year until someone noticed that it was making the conventional year a good deal too long." 'Conventional year' must be intended to mean 'average calendar year,' and the phrase 'a good deal too long' seems a good deal too strong for Censorinus' '*aliquanto maiores*,' and the one day that it represents, though the accumulated error would, of course, be making trouble in a rather short time.

Lunar Months Essential?

AT THIS POINT in the story, a slight doubt seems to have entered the narrator's mind about that 'commitment' of the calendar maker to lunar months which prevented him from putting in ten or eleven days at the end of each year, and yet permitted him to put in double that number every two years. But the problem is too much for him. He throws up the sponge and sadly says, "How, with the addition of a group of days not of the length of a lunation, they straightened matters with the next new moon is one of the things we should like to know; but no one tells us." From here on, in this article, his faith in the connection of the new moon with the pre-Caesarian calendar never falters; and the mathematical wizardry which he attributes to that early calendar maker in thus achieving the impossible may be one of his reasons for thinking the calendar of Etruscan origin, for he declares (76) that the Romans "were and continued to be the worst mathematicians . . . in the world."

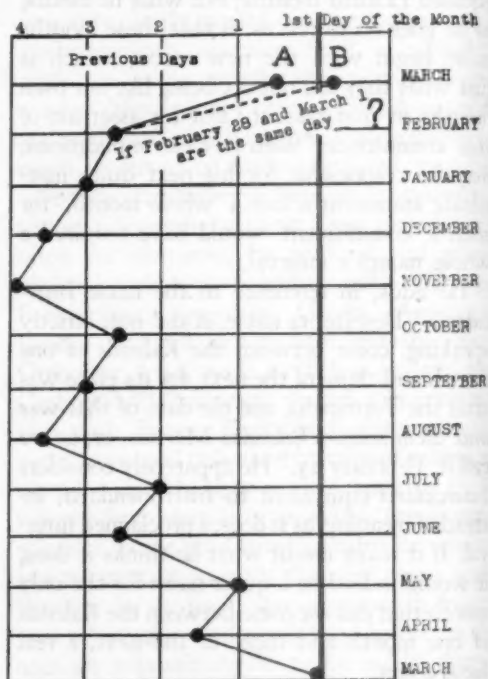
In Note 15 (70) is this statement: "The moon at her nearest to the sun . . . is invisible. . . . Somewhere between 24 and 48 hours later, the new moon can be made out by a good observer, given a clear sky. Hence a lunar month, if that means the time during which the moon is visible, is sometimes but 25 days (Nilsson, *op. cit.* 149)." The 'if' here seems very big; the reference to a 'clear sky' suggests the possibility of months with much less than 25 days 'during which the moon is visible,' and the method of counting here described has been found only in the most primitive calendars, as is indicated by Nilsson in the reference quoted.

A fitting climax to these vulnerabilities is found in Note 16, (71): "Hence the name *bissextile* for a leap-year, i.e., the year in which the date *a.d.vi.kal. Mart.* comes twice. For, our modern almanac makers to the contrary notwithstanding, there is no such day as Feb. 29 in leap-year or out of it; every fourth year February has two 23rd's." I trust it is not overstepping the bounds of professional courtesy to suggest that this expression of disagreement with the rest of the civilized world seems to exhibit a unique combination of pedantry and inaccuracy. In this connection may be noted also his unconventional name for the Julian calendar.

Determination of New Moon

AFTER ADMITTING that he does not know how the calendar maker did something that couldn't be done, he proceeds to tell what he says 'we do know,' and that is 'the ancient formality by which it was proclaimed that the new moon had appeared.' 'What we know' turns out to be what Macrobius says took place some 700 years before his own day, and what Professor Rose justly says (for part of it) is plainly a great deal older than that. Macrobius says that the junior pontiff watched for the new moon, reported seeing it, and later announced whether the Nones were to come on the 5th or the 7th.¹⁰ The two parts of the story do not hang together very well. The watching and reporting clearly do go back, as Rose says, "to the first steps toward a properly calculated calendar," when each month

began with the new moon, but the varying dates of the Nones and the Ides could have begun only with the institution of the 31 and 29-day months, when, as shown in the diagram, the first days of each month coincided with the new moon only on the first of March. If this plan, as previously indicated, took effect while the 12-lunar-month year was still in use, it marks the first step in the abandonment of the new moon as the starting point for each month, the complete abandonment coming with the pre-Caesarian calendar.



THE NEW MOON IN THE 29 AND 31-DAY MONTHS
A - 355-day Year B - 354-day Year

Under this plan, the new moon, starting on March 1, would zigzag backward in the calendar from the first of the month, until, on November 1, it would be four days old, then working back, through the shorter months to within 15 hours of its starting point on March 1, fractional days, of course, counting as one day or nothing. This slight difference in beginning the next year would be automatically taken care of every third year or oftener by the intercalary month of no

predetermined length, and therefore always ending with the new moon.

This seems a simpler and more probable method than Joseph Dwight's conjecture¹¹ that the Romans let this 15-hour excess accumulate for 11 years, and then put in an extra period of 22 days to get the new moon back in its place, an impossible conjecture if it is assumed that intercalary months of no specified length always ended with the new moon.

Professor Rose ends his description of the pre-Caesarian calendar with these words: "It may be that in its later and more sophisticated days this venerable rite [the observance of the new moon and the announcement of the Nones] was reduced to a mere pretense, as, for instance, the taking of auspices often was, and that the junior pontiff declared that he saw the new moon at the moment that he knew that her conjunction with the sun had taken place; but this is mere conjecture." Twenty years ago he was surer. At that time he wrote, "The first of the month, the *kalendae*, must . . . , in the developed calendar, be the day of the true or synodic new moon."¹² But what a conjecture, even if only that! It may well have happened in some of the more advanced Greek cities, which kept their lunar calendar so long and so exactly, that their expert astronomers estimated very closely the day and hour of the synodic new moon, when the sun had just gained another lap in its apparent race with the moon around the earth, and called that day—not that 'moment'—the beginning of the month, but that any Roman pontiff in the later republican era should have determined that moment, which for three or four hundred years had been as likely to come on one day of the Roman month as another (and at any moment of

the day or night), and then announce that he had just seen the new moon and that the month was just beginning, is rather fantastic.¹³

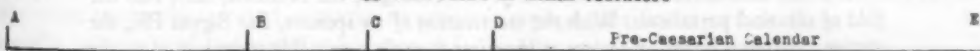
A Closer Estimate

THERE IS ONE Roman calendar problem that I have seen no attempt at solving. The basic year of the pre-Caesarian calendar, in its later days, at least, clearly had 355 days, and few question Censorinus' statement that the intercalations averaged $11\frac{1}{4}$ days, making the year one day too long.¹⁴ Censorinus adds, "*idque diu factum (est) priusquam sentiretur annos civiles aliquanto naturalibus maiores.*" One extra day would indeed make the year 'somewhat' too long, but the accumulated error would very soon give considerable trouble. Yet Censorinus says it went on for a long time before it was noticed and authority to regulate given to the pontiffs. How long was that 'long time'? The *Columbia Encyclopedia* says this change was made 'shortly after 200 B.C.,'¹⁵ 300 years or more after the calendar was started, and by then, with the year one day too long, New Year's Day would have made an almost complete round of the seasons, much as it did for 4,000 years in Egypt with its year of just 365 days, only four times as fast and in the other direction. This, we can be sure, did not take place.

Moreover, that addition of $11\frac{1}{4}$ days indicates rather clearly a definite effort to get just the right length of an average seasonal year, and the total, almost exactly one day too long, fraction and all, together with the difficulty just mentioned, suggests a possible solution.

When the 355-day year of 31- and 29-day months was established, the previous double counting of the day of the new moon naturally disappeared, because no month but March began then; but it seems perfectly

Suggested Chart of Roman Calendars



Dates of A, B, C unknown
D - probably between 700 and 550 B.C.
E - 45 B.C.

A - B: 10 lunar-month calendar; with
2 lunar months intercalated annually
(3 months 3 times in 8 years).

B - D: 12 lunar-month calendar with 1
lunar month intercalated 3 times in 6
years.

C - E: Period of 31 and 29-day months.
D - E: Pre-Caesarian calendar.

possible and rather reasonable to assume that New Year's Day, continuing to begin with the new moon at sunset, as before, was still thought to belong to both years and to be so counted. This would make the previous 12-lunar-month year actually one of 354 days (six hours nearer right than 355), and, when taken over as a base for the pre-Caesarian intercalation, would give the Julian year of 365 $\frac{1}{4}$ years. This would still be a little too long, but would fit well Censorinus' statement that it was used for a long time before the error was felt. How it was messed up enough later to require a change of control we have no means of knowing. Quite probably there were ignorant or unscrupulous pontiffs before 200 B.C., as well as after.

It might be argued that the chances were very small that the Romans, or their Etruscan rulers, could make so close an estimate of the length of the year. It might have been partly a lucky guess; but Etruscan civilization borrowed much from the Greeks, and Greek elements in this calendar have been generally recognized. Moreover Greek astronomers of about this period had agreed upon a year of 365 days plus, though they differed on the fraction;¹⁶ the Egyptians had been using their 365-day year, with its recognized deficiency of $\frac{1}{4}$ of a day for nearly 4000 years, and the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (II, 582d) says, "a steady flow of astronomical knowledge from East to West began in the seventh century B.C." The knowledge at Rome, therefore, of these estimates of the length of the year cannot be considered improbable if otherwise indicated. Some of these last assumptions, though highly conjectural, may be justified as

tentative solutions for difficulties greater than those they involve.

NOTES

¹ E.g., that a primitive calendar year of ten lunar months covered 304 days.

² For a detailed discussion of this ten-month year and its various explanations, see *The Fasti of Ovid*, ed. by J. G. Frazer, II, 8-29.

³ O. E. Hartmann, *Der Römischer Kalender*, 10-14. (1882). Hartmann also believed that the number of days, 304, traditionally covering this ten month year, was a later invention.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 348 and 147.

⁵ *Ency. Brit.* IV. 579 c. "Between year and year there was a gap of some 60 days."

⁶ A more exact cycle of 19 years, with 7 specified intercalations, was devised by Meton, a Greek astronomer, and established at Athens and elsewhere in 432 B.C. In this cycle, 235 lunar months come within two hours of 19 solar years. This was a great advance, giving a dependable date to every day in the year, although each date had a swing in the seasons of some 25 days. By intercalating every two years instead of three, the pre-Caesarian calendar, if carefully used, reduced this swing to about 12 days.

⁷ In thus shaking off from their calendar the shackles of the new moon (a thing which the Greeks, much better astronomers, never did) the Romans were anticipated by the Egyptians, who, in 4241 B.C., started a year of twelve 30-day months, with an extra period of 5 days.

⁸ P. 91.

⁹ P. 88.

¹⁰ *Saturn.* I. 15.9 ff.

¹¹ *CJ* 41.275 (March 1946).

¹² *Op. cit.*, 89.

¹³ It seems equally fantastic to imagine the pontiff as proclaiming, on the first day of the calendar month, after sunset, that he had just seen the new moon in the west, when the full moon might then be rising in the east.

¹⁴ *De Die Natali*, 20.6.

¹⁵ P. 275.

¹⁶ Censorinus, *op. cit.* 19.2.

SALVE, NUNTI!

WE ARE DELIGHTED to welcome our junior colleague, the Nuntius, back into the fold of classical periodicals. With the reactivation of its sponsor, Eta Sigma Phi, the national classical honorary society, it promises to make a valuable contribution to the fellowship of learning on the student level. An attractive preliminary number in litho-print has already appeared under the editorship of Professor W. C. Korfmacher, the new executive secretary and editor. (We may add that the Eta Sigma Phi medals for high-school students in Vergil are again available; see the advertisement at the back of our November *CJ*.)

LANX SATURA

Quidquid agunt homines,
votum timor ira voluptas
gaudia discursus, nostri
farrago libelli est.

School Days

THE NOISE as the principal escorted us to his office was, in its way, louder and more pervasive than anything we had heard before. It had a semi-solid suffocating quality, like water when a swimmer is struggling to reach the surface before his lungs give out. When we reached the comparative quiet of the office, the principal explained, somewhat defensively, that they tried to avoid regimentation. There was only one rule governing students' conduct in the halls: no running or racing downstairs—somebody might get hurt. (It was assumed, of course, that robbery, battery, and arson were not encouraged, either.)

By way of contrast, this took us back in memory to Huron St. Public School, an academy at which this writer was thoroughly regimented in the days of World War I. At recess, an envoy from the principal's office would appear with a large bell. At the first ding, bedlam gave way to an oppressive hush; everyone stood stock still. At the second ding, we walked quietly to our class stations on the planked surface of the school yard and formed up according to our rank in the last month's grades. At the third ding, the room captain (the boy who had had the highest grade) called out "Fooorward March!" and we soberly tramped up the stairs to our classroom while one of the kindergarten teachers played a march on an old upright piano.

As we look back at Room 20 dimly through the years, we recall that a pupil rarely said anything unless he were on his feet. Remarks addressed to the teacher from a sitting position were promptly rejected; remarks to anyone else were out of order and subject to the penalty of surrendering one good-conduct ticket. All formal addresses from the teacher and visiting dignitaries were received in a rigid attitude known as "Position!" Back straight, hands behind the back, and feet flat

on the floor. Three or more mistakes in the spelling lesson meant staying in after school. A student who forgot his rubbers and was so indiscreet as to come back for them stayed in the room until everyone went home.

Yes, SIR!

IN HIGH SCHOOL, things were even worse. It was a day school for boys, and the discipline was what might be described as "tight." There was an official dungeon known as "Room 8" in which criminals were incarcerated after school. We walked sedately to our rooms; no loud talking, no whistling. We were scared of most of the teachers, and they were extraordinarily adept at coping with insurrections. One of them, known as "Jock," was the main trouble-shooter; he had an elegance of delivery and a copiousness of invention that regularly blistered the woodwork. The headmaster was called the "Bull." He roared. It was a memorable experience to be a member of a class to whose sins he had elected to call attention. And he had very definite ideas about the kind of school and the kind of boys he wanted—and he got precisely that kind. On the street, we tipped our caps to our teachers. We removed our hats when we entered the building. We said, "Yes, sir." And we worked hard, so hard that boys from our school regularly walked off with most of the available university scholarships. Everyone took Latin.

On the basis of these soul-searing experiences we should be able to present a picture of traditional schools that would make Dotheboys Hall seem like one of the jollier child-centered seminaries. But to do so would be to suppress certain important facts.

Our attitude in these educational matters, we must confess parenthetically, is conditioned by our own experiences as a parent and, more important, by the fact that we are an ex-child ourselves (a qualification that a number of educational theorists seem to lack).

On the basis of these experiences, we take it to be a scientific fact that the human young are, in many ways, rather durable little articles and exceedingly adept at taking their elders for what is known in the vulgate as a ride. Indeed, perpetual vigilance seems to be the only means by which elders may survive in an otherwise child-centered world.

The Law

BUT THE REAL secret which has escaped many contemporary educators is that those traditional schools were governed by something that is not often mentioned in the popular social sciences, something that must be secure before democracy can be maintained. That something is *law*. The classical tradition has a good deal to say about law, although the present interpretation of the Classics (derived largely from nineteenth-century romanticism) fails to stress this essential aspect of classicism. And the basic step in securing the right condition in school or society is to make sure that the law is *known*. Men—and children—must know in advance that by which they are to be judged. They must know what the rules are. And every child in our school had this advance knowledge; we recall almost no instances where a student failed to know why he was being penalized, or complained because he was. Anyone who smoked in the locker room or poured carbon bisulphide down the ventilator knew what would happen if the authorities caught up with him.

Law and Anarchy

ACCORDING to the canons of classical thought, if the law is not known by the people, or not observed by the rulers, a state of tyranny and anarchy exists. Thus the first step in Athens toward good order was the publication of the laws under Draco, and in Rome, the Twelve Tables. Only when men know in advance what the rules are may they bring pressure to bear for the amendment and improvement of the law through democratic processes or the pressure of public opinion. Whether this procedure may be followed in the self-government of a school community

is another question. There is certainly no prospect of reproducing the long tradition of social and political experience which leads to the spontaneous development of published law and constitutional procedures in democratic states, for this tradition is inevitably the mark of a mature society and mature leaders. It is scarcely conceivable that masses of children can organize themselves into an orderly system of self-government without being steered by their teachers to a degree sufficient to negate the democratic principle of spontaneity of action.

But failing the attainment of the impossible ideal in the form of the state spontaneously created and governed according to known law, classical precedents readily condone the next best condition: the state governed according to known law by good rulers. That is what one finds in the traditional school where able and understanding teachers represent the known law in the form of standards of conduct prescribed by society as a whole. The development of conformity to this code, which, it must be emphasized, is prescribed by the experience of *society as a whole*, is one of the traditional reasons why children are sent to school. If the code is ably administered, the end result is likely to be something that we have not been hearing much about lately in educational circles, although there is no better qualification for citizenship in a world, changing or stable, in school or out: *character*.

For Efficient Education

WE ARE PRESENTING here a guest editorial, the author of which is sharply critical of present-day methods in teaching Latin on the secondary level. He is strongly in favor of greatly accelerated methods. In addition, he seems to advocate the abandonment of the conventional college program in favor of survey courses. While his remarks do not necessarily reflect the policy of THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL or the opinions of the majority of its readers, we believe that his point of view deserves a hearing.

HENCE [because languages are taught as "tools" only] appear so many mistakes which

have made learning generally so unpleasing and unsuccessful; first, we do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek as might be learned otherwise easily and delightfully in one year. And that which casts our proficiency therein so much behind is our time lost partly in too oft idle vacancies given both to schools and universities; partly in a preposterous exaction, forcing children to compose themes, verses, and orations, which are the acts of ripest judgment, and the work of a head filled by long reading and observing with elegant maxims and copious invention. These are not matters to be wrung from poor striplings, like blood out of the nose, or the plucking of untimely fruit. Besides the ill habit which they get of wretched barbarizing against Latin and Greek idiom with their untutored Anglicisms, odious to be read, yet not to be avoided without a well-continued and judicious conversing among pure authors, digested, which they scarce taste. Whereas, if after some preparatory grounds of speech by their certain forms got into memory, they were led to the praxis thereof in some chosen short book lessoned thoroughly to them, they might then forthwith proceed to learn the substance of good things, and arts in due order, which would bring the whole language quickly into their power. This I take to be the most rational and most profitable way of learning languages, and whereby we may best hope to give account to God of our youth spent herein.

Errors of Universities

AND FOR the usual method of teaching arts, I deem it to be an old error of universities, not yet well recovered from the scholastic grossness of barbarous ages, that instead of beginning with arts most easy (and these be such as are most obvious to the sense), they present their young unmatriculated novices

at first coming with the most intellective abstractions of logic and metaphysics; so that they having but newly left those grammatic flats and shallows, where they stuck unreasonably to learn a few words with lamentable construction, and now on the sudden transported under another climate, to be tossed and turmoiled with their unballasted wits in fathomless and unquiet depths of controversy, do for the most part grow into hatred and contempt of learning, mocked and deluded all this while with ragged notions and babblements, while they expected worthy and delightful knowledge; till poverty or youthful years call them importunately their several ways, and hasten them, with the sway of their friends, either to an ambitious and mercenary, or ignorantly zealous divinity: some allured to the trade of law, grounding their purposes not on the prudent and heavenly contemplation of justice and equity, which was never taught them, but on promising and pleasing thoughts of litigious terms, fat contentions, and flowing fees; others betake them to state affairs, with souls so unprincipled in virtue and true generous breeding that flattery, and court shifts, and tyrannous aphorisms appear to them the highest points of wisdom, instilling their barren hearts with a conscientious slavery, if, as I rather think, it be not feigned. Others, lastly, of a more delicious and airy spirit, retire themselves (knowing no better) to the enjoyments of ease and luxury, living out their days in feasts and jollity; which, indeed, is the wisest and safest course of all these, unless they were with more integrity undertaken. And these are the errors, and these are the fruits of misspending our prime youth at the schools and universities as we do, either in learning mere words, or such things chiefly as were better unlearned.

These comments were addressed to Master Samuel Hartlib by John Milton in 1644.

In January—

Ulysses and Aeneas Talk Things Over

(It could have happened)

In "A Joy to Remember" by Harriet W. Marr

A Modern Language Teacher Considers the Classics

Daniel T. Skinner
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Baltimore

I AM A TEACHER of modern languages and therefore approach the Classics with reverence and trepidation. I recall my student days spent learning Greek and Latin paradigms as well as reading the best authors. The old inspiring quotations come to mind again and again; and I look back at my classical education as an uplifting experience. However, I should like to indicate certain weaknesses encountered in my study of the Classics.

In my Latin and Greek courses the students memorized grammatical forms, translated into English, and discussed syntax. The reading of texts bordered on a fixed science. Generations of students read the same passages in the same authors and memorized the same quotations. The material and method were highly standardized. Often the editor of a reading or composition text would not explain a difficult point, but rather would refer the student to such and such a paragraph in Allen and Greenough's *New Latin Grammar*. These rigid techniques did not encourage flexibility and originality in learning a language. Therefore, after five years of Latin and two years of Greek, I did not know how to say "Good morning. How are you?" and could not understand or answer simple questions in these languages. As a soldier in France I once visited a Greek ship anchored at the port of Marseille. I wanted to attempt a conversation in Greek but was powerless. The only words that came to mind were the first four lines of the *Iliad*. I regretted then that none of our memory work in college had consisted of short conversational expressions.

Unfortunately, this "dead" approach was also applied by some teachers to French, German, and Spanish. Grammar was learned and discussed as a profound science. Foreign texts were analyzed in order to teach syntax

and translation. Hence I must charge that Latin has had a *baneful* influence on modern language teaching. Sometimes students had the same instructor for Latin and French, who used the same method in both classes. If the text studied was Merimee's *Colomba* or Malot's *Sans Famille*, the instructor spent too much time explaining idioms and constructions. This practise was not *learning a foreign language*; rather it consisted of using English in order to *talk about* a foreign language.

Instead of this "dead" approach in which the Classics so injured Modern Foreign Languages, I recommend that good modern language methods be applied to the Classics. On the first day in a Latin class, the teacher could begin with simple conversational expressions¹ which the pupils should repeat and learn:

"Salve, mi amice."—"Salve."

"Quo vadis?"—"In scholam."

"Quid facis ibi?"—"Linguae latinae studeo."

"Amasne istam linguam?"—"Ita, eam multum amo."

"Mihi placet."—"Vale, mi amice."

The first few lessons would be spent on oral drill *without the book*. The members of the class should realize that they are studying a *language*, that they must train their ears to understand it and their mouths to speak it. After some oral foundation the students could begin Lesson 1 in their textbook. I prefer that in this lesson they study reading, grammar and composition (English into the foreign tongue), following that order. The teacher might read aloud and have the students repeat. Then, after adequate translation into English, they should reread the pas-

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NOTES

Contributions to this department in the form of brief objective notes should be sent direct to the editor, Oscar E. Nybakken, State University of Iowa, 111 Schaeffer Hall, Iowa City, Iowa.

OCTAVIA'S MEDIATION AT TARENTUM

IN THE AUTUMN of 40 B.C., Antony and Octavian finally reached an agreement at Brundisium and thus averted civil war. The past was to be forgotten. A new distribution of Roman territory was made, Scodra on the Adriatic being the dividing point. The East was assigned to Antony, the West to Octavian. Lepidus and Sextus Pompey were to retain Africa and Sicily respectively. Antony would attend to the Parthian War, and Octavian settle matters with Sextus, whose blockade of shipping was causing a serious grain shortage in Italy.¹ To make the Treaty more binding, Octavian betrothed his sister, Octavia *minor*, to Antony.² The news of the negotiations and betrothal caused great rejoicing among the soldiers and the people as well.³ In the words of Plutarch, "... everybody tried to bring about this marriage. For they hoped that Octavia, who, besides her great beauty, had intelligence and dignity, when united to Antony and beloved by him, as such a woman naturally must be, would restore harmony and be their complete salvation."⁴ The wedding, which took place at Rome as soon as the triumvirs journeyed there from Brundisium, was an important feature of the festivities celebrating the reconciliation.⁵ Indeed this union, as much as the Treaty itself, seems to have assured the Romans of the peaceful intentions of the dynasts.

For a time relations between the triumvirs were friendly enough. Antony was planning the Parthian expedition and in general carrying out the terms of the Treaty of Brundisium.⁶ In 39 he and Octavian succeeded in making temporary peace with Sextus at Misenum, the latter agreeing, among other things, to abandon his blockade. Late in the year Antony and his wife left Rome for Athens, his headquarters for the next two years.⁷

In the spring of 38 when Antony had everything in readiness for the raid into Parthian territory, Octavian sent word asking him to come to Brundisium for a consultation. War with Sextus Pompey seemed imminent, and Octavian needed assistance. Inopportune though the summons was, Antony nevertheless set sail for Brundisium and arrived on the day appointed.⁸ He could not yet afford to break with Octavian, for he needed the prestige of a Parthian victory. Furthermore he was still lacking in funds.⁹ Octavian did not appear for the meeting. Antony wasted no time in waiting, but left a note for his brother-in-law advising him not to violate their treaty, and sailed back to Greece. Appian gives several possible reasons for his hasty departure: either that he did not yet approve of the war against Sextus, considering it a violation of the Treaty of Misenum; or that he was aware of Octavian's great preparations and thought them indicative of a future struggle for supreme power; or that he was frightened by a horrible portent.¹⁰ Obviously, however, when Antony had made every preparation for the crucial Parthian campaign, he would at all cost avoid a war with Sextus likely to postpone his own activities in the Orient for a year and leave too much glory to his lieutenant, Ventidius, reports of whose success had already reached him.¹¹

After his return to Greece, Antony set out for Syria to aid Ventidius, and following the capture of Samosata, sailed for Athens, where he and Octavia spent a second winter.¹² There he was in easy communication with both Italy and Greece.

The present time was admirable for Antony to achieve dominance at Rome. The victories of his generals had brought him fame, whereas Octavian's fleet had just experienced disaster at Pompey's hands. Funds

were low, and Octavian was afraid to levy new taxes because of ill feeling already displayed toward him in Italy.¹³ In such difficult circumstances Antony's support was imperative.¹⁴

The five-year agreement made by Octavian, Lepidus, and Antony expired at the end of 38.¹⁵ To renew it would require discussion among the colleagues. Furthermore Antony wanted to exchange his fleet, which was an unnecessary expense and which Octavian needed, for a part of Octavian's legions which he himself required.¹⁶ Although the Treaty of Brundisium gave both men equal rights to recruit soldiers in Italy, it was difficult for Antony to do so since Octavian was virtually in full command of that territory.¹⁷ Probably for these reasons Antony left the winter campaign to his subordinates and returned to Greece.¹⁸

Recognizing the strength of Antony's position, Octavian sent Maecenas to him at Athens to settle their recent differences and perhaps to renew the Triumvirate. Antony agreed to some kind of an alliance and promised aid. Thereupon Octavian cast off despondency and began building ships on an extensive scale. He even levied new taxes.¹⁹ His preparations were so successful that he assumed a far different attitude toward Antony in the spring of 37. First, he evidently feared seriously weakening his own position in Italy by too much dependence on Antony. Secondly, he full well realized the latter's eagerness to return to the Orient, his need of forces for his expedition and freedom from worry over affairs at home.²⁰

In the spring of 37, Antony, accompanied by his wife, sailed to Tarentum with three hundred ships to give Octavian the assistance promised. Octavian postponed his own coming and offered numerous excuses for the delay, evidently because he no longer needed aid, as Appian suggests. He may also have been mistrustful and irritated because he had heard that Antony was in negotiation with Lepidus. And Octavian may have been annoyed because it was alleged neglect on Antony's part—in connection with the Peloponnesus—that had started Pompey fighting

again. Antony probably understood that his colleague was delaying in order to secure better terms. However, he persisted in his communications, being anxious to exchange ships for soldiers.²¹

At this critical point Octavia intervened by going to see her brother. Her part in the negotiations at Tarentum is exaggerated by Plutarch and Dio, who are influenced by court tradition and clearly hostile to Antony.²² They would show him reduced to sending his own wife to mediate in his favor and to taking advantage of the influence that a sister would obviously have upon her own brother. And to accentuate her role would imply that Antony's position was indeed dire and wholly dependent upon Octavia's success as mediator. It would seem more likely that neither Antony nor Octavian had any intention of coming to a pitched battle, whatever the tension or differences of opinion between them. It would not be to their advantage at this stage in their careers. What is more, two such determined strategists would scarcely heed the words of a mere woman. It is interesting, however, that Plutarch misses a fine opportunity to belittle Antony when he does not have him begging his wife to intercede in his behalf. Although she was with child, Plutarch states that she actually *requested* her husband to send her to talk to Octavian. Appian merely remarks that she went to her brother to act as negotiator.²³ As a matter of fact, since Antony was so greatly in need of soldiers, it is quite probable that he himself was responsible for her setting out.

According to Plutarch, after meeting Octavian²⁴ she first won over his two friends Agrippa and Maecenas, who were with him at the time, and then begged him not to make her most unhappy and wretched by allowing war to come. The biographer puts this eloquent plea in her mouth: "... if the worse should prevail and there should be war between you, one of you, it is uncertain which, is destined to conquer, and one to be conquered, but my lot in either case will be one of misery." Overcome by these words, says Plutarch, Octavian came peacefully to Tarentum.²⁵ Appian makes no mention of this

phase of Octavia's interview with her brother, and discusses only his complaints against Antony and her replies, which replies indicate that she had been rather well instructed how to deal with Octavian. The latter charged that when seriously in need of help—evidently referring to the naval defeat dealt him by Pompey the previous year—he had been abandoned by Antony. To this she answered that her husband had cleared himself on this score in his interview with Maecenas. Octavian then charged that Antony had sent his freedman Callias to Lepidus for the purpose of inducing the latter to make an alliance against him. She explained that Callias had really been sent to arrange for the marriage of Antony's daughter (Antonia, his eldest daughter, by a former marriage) to Lepidus' son—a marriage already agreed upon.²⁶ Then Antony sent Callias to be questioned by Octavian. The latter would not receive him but agreed to meet Antony at the river Taras near Tarentum.²⁷

Thus late in the year 37, perhaps in the early fall,²⁸ the dynasts met at the appointed place. Outwardly there was good will on both sides,²⁹ but they must still have felt suspicion and resentment toward each other. Appian characterizes their position as a continual change from "... suspicion born of rivalry to confidence due to their mutual needs."³⁰ "Pseudo-confidence" would be nearer the truth.³¹ Each entertained the other at his own lodgings. Antony was host first, because, Appian relates, Octavian wanted to visit his sister who was then at her husband's headquarters at Tarentum. Plutarch remarks that Octavian accepted the invitation (i.e., to be the guest first) "... for his sister's sake . . ."³² Both writers seem to imply that Octavian's motives were purely fraternal, not political.

They agreed on an exchange of forces, Antony giving Octavian a hundred and twenty (or one hundred) ships which he delivered at Tarentum immediately. In return Octavian promised him twenty thousand legionnaires. Octavia obtained ten (or twenty) additional ships as a personal favor from Antony for her brother, who in turn gave her one

thousand soldiers to be selected by Antony.³³ The Triumvirate, which had expired at the end of 38, was renewed for another quinquennium, beginning January 1, 37.³⁴ Pompey lost the consulship, given him at Misenum in 39, thus making Octavian again supreme in the western empire. And as usual, they confirmed the agreement by marriage ties, Octavian betrothing his baby daughter Julia to Antyllus, Antony's son by Fulvia, and Antony betrothing his infant daughter by Octavia (Antonia *maior*) to L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.³⁵ These agreements, Dio remarks, were merely pretences on both sides, for the dynasts had no intention of carrying out any of them, the exigencies of the moment having dictated the treaty.³⁶

How important was Octavia's part in the mediations? The sources do not really tell us much. Plutarch, as we saw, shows Octavian overcome by his sister's sorrowful words and in a peaceful mood coming to Tarentum. He adds that "... for his sister's sake . . ." Octavian consented to Antony's entertaining him first, and tells how she obtained twenty additional ships for her brother and in turn received a thousand soldiers for her husband. Dio avers that the two dictators became reconciled to an extent chiefly through the instrumentality of Octavia.³⁷ Appian's account is the fullest and at the same time the least committal. Though he describes in detail her arguments to Octavian in her husband's behalf, he does not say what positive effect these words had upon him. Appian's other remarks are no more revealing. Numerous coins struck by Antony and his *praefecti classis* soon after the treaty carry the head of Octavia, or those of Octavia and Antony, or finally of Octavian and Antony opposite that of Octavia.³⁸ These at least indicate that Antony *wished* his wife to be considered important in keeping peace, but obviously they do not prove what he actually thought.³⁹

On these meagre data modern scholars have had a Roman holiday. More popular writers like Wertheimer have woven arguments out of whole cloth, e.g., that Octavia's strongest point was the threat to Caesar that

failure to comply with Antony's demands would force the latter into an alliance with Cleopatra.⁴⁰ Baker pictures the meeting at Tarentum as having been decided upon ahead of time by Maecenas and Octavian. The latter, he says, allowed his sister to refute his complaints, and he and Maecenas agreed to regard her as peace-maker, which task she in her innocence took seriously.⁴¹ Such an imaginative scholar as Ferrero has decided that Octavian, Maecenas, and Agrippa gave Antony partial satisfaction to avoid the possibility of his making an alliance with Sextus or Lepidus. This fact, the Italian writer believes, even more than Octavia's prayers, facilitated the agreement.⁴² Even the conservative Tarn states that Octavia prevented war and adds that she was "... a match for her brother in diplomacy ..." as she showed at Tarentum by "... her quiet but conclusive handling of his accusations against Antony."⁴³

In the present writer's opinion, important as Octavia's influence may have been, it could scarcely have been a basic or even a decisive factor in the treaty. Octavian and Antony then needed each other's help and would have reached the agreement with or without her mediation. If they knew a war between them was inevitable, this was not the time for it. Each had a more urgent problem to settle: Octavian must defeat Sextus, and Antony, the Parthians. And each therefore must have been anxious to renew the Triumvirate. Probably—it is logical if not susceptible of proof—Antony did utilize Octavia as mediator in an attempt to gain for himself better terms. The fact that she was well primed with answers would indicate this. It is even possible, as Plutarch relates, that her part was purely voluntary. In any event it was a subsidiary role. Most credit should be given her undoubtedly palliative influence, her intuitive tact in helping bring to terms these two suspicious and belligerent rivals.

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NOTES

¹ Appian, *Bellum Civile* 5. 64; Dio 48. 28; Plutarch, Antony 30. 3-4. All subsequent references to Appian will be from the *Bellum Civile*, and unless otherwise stated, from Book 5. All references to Plutarch are from

the Antony.

² Plut. 31; App. 64. Antony's wife, Octavia minor, was the full sister of Octavian, and is not to be confused with Octavia maior, his half-sister. On this involved and much argued question see Mary W. Singer, *Octavia Minor, Sister of Augustus: An Historical and Biographical Study* (unpub. Ph.D. diss., Duke Univ., 1944), appendix.

³ App. 64; Dio 48. 31. 2.

⁴ 31. 2, translated by B. Perrin: *Plutarch's Lives in The Loeb Classical Library*, vol. ix (London, 1920).

⁵ App. 66; Dio 48. 31. 3; Plut. 31. 3.

⁶ Octavia and Antony made their home in Rome during the first year of their marriage, although Antony was away much of this time plotting his campaign. Plut. 32. 3; Dio 48. 38. 2.

⁷ App. 72-73, 76; Dio 48. 36-39. 1; Plut. 33. 3-4.

⁸ App. 76, 78-79; Dio 48. 46. 2.

⁹ Lucile Craven, *Antony's Oriental Policy Until the Defeat of the Parthian Expedition* (Univ. of Missouri Studies, Social Science Series, III, no. 2, 1920) 59.

¹⁰ App. 79; cf. Dio 48. 46. 3.

¹¹ Craven, *op. cit.*, 59. On the successes of Ventidius see Dio 49. 19-21.

¹² Dio 49. 22. 1-3; Plut. 34; Josephus, *Antiquitates*, 14. 15. 8-9.

¹³ Plut. 34. 5-6.

¹⁴ Craven, *op. cit.*, 63-64.

¹⁵ C.I.L., I, p. 466; App. 4. 7; Dio 47. 2. 1-2.

¹⁶ App. 93.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 65, 93. See G. Ferrero, *The Greatness and Decline of Rome*, III (translated by A. E. Zimmern and H. J. Chaytor, New York [1909?]), 294; and M. Reinhold, *Marcus Agrippa* (Geneva, New York, 1933), 35.

¹⁸ Craven, *op. cit.*, 63-64.

¹⁹ App. 92, 93; Dio 48. 49.

²⁰ Craven, *op. cit.*, 64.

²¹ App. 72, 77, 93; Plut. 35. 1.

²² R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, 1939), 225, n. 2; M. Levi, *Ottaviano Capoparte* (Florence, 1933), II, 71, n. 1. Augustus' autobiography probably was the chief source for Dio and Plutarch in these events. See F. Blumenthal, "Die Autobiographie des Augustus," *Wiener Studien*, xxxvi (1914), 84-85. Appian in general is less biased, having used both Augustus' memoirs and Pollio as sources. His account of the Tarentum negotiations seems to show a subtle pro-Antonian tendency, suggesting that Pollio was the source. However, this bias, if any, is extremely slight.

²³ Plut. 35. 1: ἐπαύσα τὴν Ὀκταυίαν . . . δεηθείσαν ἀποπέμψαι πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν . . . App. 93: Ὀκταυία οὖν ἐχώρει πρὸς Καίσαρα διατεήσουσα αὐτοῖς. Dio (48. 54) is silent on this and similar details. Ferrero (*op. cit.*, III, 294), taking the other extreme from Plutarch, believes, though purely by supposition, that Antony frightened Octavia by threatening to make war upon her brother, and thus induced her to intervene.

²⁴ 35. 2. It is not clear from the original whether it is meant that Octavia met Octavian simply on her way to Rome, or on his way somewhere, perhaps actually to a council with Antony. If the latter, then the importance of her mission is considerably lessened.

²⁵ 35. 2-3.

²⁶ This was Antony's daughter by his cousin Antonia. She had been betrothed in 44 to Lepidus' son (Dio 44. 53), but the marriage never took place. See P. Groebe, in Pauly-Wissowa, R.E., s.v. Antonius, -a, 112.

²⁷ App. 93.

²⁸ For detailed arguments for this date see J. Kromayer, *Die rechtliche Begründung des Principats* (Doctoral diss., Kaiser-Wilhelm Univ., Strassburg, 1888), 51-57.

²⁹ App. 94; Plut. 35. 3-4.

³⁰ App., 94.

³¹ See Syme, *op. cit.*, 225.

³² App. 94; Plut. 35. 4.

³³ App. 95; Plut. 35. 4. Appian states that the number of ships which Antony gave was 120; Plutarch says 100. Appian reports that Octavia obtained ten additional ships for her brother, while Plutarch says twenty. It is not possible, nor particularly important, to determine which numbers are correct. Appian may have been using a pro-Antonian, and Plutarch, a pro-Augustan, source. See Levi, *op. cit.*, II, 73, n. 1.

³⁴ Dio 48. 54. 6; App. 95. Appian must be wrong here in stating that the first term of the Triumvirate had not yet expired at the time of the Tarentum Treaty. It is agreed that the Triumvirate was established Nov. 27, 43 and expired Dec. 31, 39. See Kromayer, *op. cit.*, 2; T. R. Holmes, *The Architect of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1928), 231-245. Dio is correct then in saying that it had already ended before the dynasts renewed it at Tarentum.

³⁵ Dio 48. 54. 4-6. The first of these marriages was never carried out; but the second one occurred right after the death of Antony. See M. Hammond, in R.E.,

s.v. Octavius, -a, 96, col. 1862. Dio wrongly says that Antonia maior was betrothed to the Domitius who was one of Caesar's murderers, i.e., Gnaeus, the father of Lucius whom she actually did marry (Groag, R.E., s.v. Domitius, 28, 1343). Tacitus (Ann., 4. 44; 12. 64) also wrongly calls this Antonia the younger. See Groebe, R.E., s.v. Antonius, -a, 113; Mommsen, *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, 1, 272.

³⁶ Dio 48. 54. 5.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 48. 54. 3; cf. Zonaras 10. 24.

³⁸ H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* (London, 1910), II, 510-519; see also p. 507; "Coinages of the Triumvirs," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth series, XI (1911) 145-146; M. Bahr-feldt, "Die Münzen der Flottenpräfekten des Marcus Antonius," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, XXXVII (1905) 9-57.

³⁹ Hammond (*loc. cit.*, col. 1862), however, affirms that they can be used as proof of the important role which Octavia played.

⁴⁰ O. von Wertheimer, *Cleopatra* (translated into English by H. Patterson, Philadelphia, 1931) 228.

⁴¹ G. P. Baker, *Augustus. The Golden Age of Rome* (New York, 1937) 207.

⁴² *Op. cit.*, III, 294-295.

⁴³ *Cambridge Ancient History*, x, 54, 51. Other writers vary in their conception of Octavia's rôle. V. Gardt-hausen (*Augustus und seine Zeit* [Leipzig, 1891] I, 1, 253) gives her chief credit for the peace. C. Bader (*La Femme Romaine* [Paris, 1877], 404), following Plutarch, says that she employed her emotions in lieu of diplomacy; Grueber ("Coinages of the Triumvirs," 143) terms her a skillful, and Holmes (*op. cit.*, I, 112), a tactful mediator.

A MODERN LANGUAGE TEACHER CONSIDERS THE CLASSICS

(Continued from Page 172)

sage in the original. The teacher could ask simple questions on the reading, in Latin or Greek, and train the pupils to answer in the foreign language. Consider, for example:

"Intellegis?"

"Ita, intellego."

"Estne homo in fabula?"

"Immo mulier in fabula est."

An emphasis on conversational Latin and Greek might require new texts to replace many now in use. Caesar, who is read perennially by first or second year students, deals with war and military terminology and is generally remote from students' ken. Xenophon, the Greek students' main diet, also treats of war as well as unfamiliar geography and men. Many popular textbooks in modern

language favor words and experiences built around the classroom instead of the battlefield;

"Bonjour. Nous sommes dans la classe."

"Vous êtes l'élève. Je suis le professeur."

"Parlez-vous français? Oui, je parle français."

"Au revoir."

For reading material many modern language editors have presented French or German classics simplified. The Heath-Chicago Series² is excellent. First year students are able to read and really enjoy *Aucassin et Nicolette*, *Les Misérables*, and the like. In a grammar book the best sequence is, I think, 1. a reading passage which begins the lesson, 2. a vocabulary of words that were in the reading passage, 3. explanation of grammatical forms

which occurred in the reading, and 4. English sentences to be written in the foreign language. The reading passage should be long enough to enable sufficient drill, and should contain the grammatical principles of the lesson. It would be desirable also that the students memorize short sentences such as "Caesar est Romae" or "Domi sum" instead of rules on the locative case. This format which I have outlined above is employed in a very popular modern German grammar, Evans and Röseler's *College German*. I personally am convinced that it is no more difficult to speak Latin than German. (A Latin book that employs the same scheme is Gray and Jenkins, *Latin for Today, First Year Course*.³) After students have received a conversational base, they could proceed to the reading of historical texts: Caesar, Cicero, Vergil, Horace, Plautus in Latin; Xenophon, Homer, Herodotus, Pindar, Plato in Greek. The teacher should still employ some oral reading besides questions and answers in the original tongue.

Too often we have heard the Classics attacked as "dead languages." But a language, any language, should be oral, should be phonetic. Hence we must make Latin a *lingua* and Greek a *φωνή*. Every university can boast of a venerable classicist who delivers a Latin address at Commencement. The audience is impressed and rather surprised that it can understand Latin, at least the remarks about "magistri doctissimi" and "puellae pulcherrimae." However, speaking Latin ought not to be considered a great and difficult feat. Catholic priests, with a tradition going back to the Middle Ages (when Latin was "alive"), speak the language. Students in seminaries are taught conversation in Latin and Greek. But often secular schools teach Classics by the grammar-translation method. Then finally in the junior or senior year, students are offered some conversation and composition. This method delayed too long in giving oral practise and free written expression. The argument is sometimes advanced: No modern nation speaks classical Latin or Greek. Hence what standard exists for pronunciation of these languages? I should counter by asking: How *Parisian* is the French acquired in

American schools and colleges? How *Castilian* is the Spanish? How *Hanoverian* is the German?

This paper is not a criticism of the entire field of Latin and Greek. Some Classicists have advocated this approach. Some texts, both old and new, have used it. Over seventy years ago, Professor Blackie of Edinburgh published a series of short conversations in Greek and English.⁴ Some time later, an American Miss Paxson wrote a lively little play on a Roman school with Cicero as a bright student and Catiline a laggard.⁵ THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL contained recently an excellent article by Martz and Schwerdtmann, telling how to teach Latin conversation to beginning students.⁶ It must be admitted, nevertheless, that there are still many teachers in Classics and also in Modern Languages who are limiting their method to grammar and translation.

The study of Greek and Latin taught me a knowledge of English words and skill in translation. These results are commendable, but I feel that something more might be added: e.g. a little oral practise and reading comprehension without detailed translation. There is a new tendency toward studying the Classics in English. However, I resist dropping Latin and Greek entirely in favor of authors in translation. The same expedient might spread to Modern Foreign Languages, my field of work. I should prefer to stay in my own field rather than see foreign languages dropped as tool subjects and all of us forced to become teachers of English language and literature.

NOTES

¹ Cf. Martz and Schwerdtmann, "Beginning Latin: First Few Days," THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL, May 1946 (376-379).

² Consult the Heath-Chicago Series: Bond, *Graded French Readers*, serially, Hagholdt, *Graded German Readers*, and Castillo & Sparkman, *Graded Spanish Readers*.

³ Gray and Jenkins, *Latin for Today: First Year Course*, Boston, Ginn & Co. (1933).

⁴ Blackie, J. S., *Greek and English Dialogues*, London, MacMillan Co. (1875).

⁵ Paxson, S., *Two Latin Plays for High School Students*, Boston, Ginn & Co. (1911).

⁶ Martz and Schwerdtmann, *op. cit.* Cp. also Brown, *Modern Latin Conversation*, Boston, D. C. Heath (1943).

THE TEACHER'S SCRAPBOOK

A department for the discussion of classroom theory and practise, and the exchange of practical teaching ideas, conducted under the direction of the Committee of Educational Policy of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. Teachers are urged to forward items of general interest based on their own experience to the Editorial Representative of the Committee, Mrs. Ruth F. Joedicke, Mary Institute, Clayton 5, Missouri.

SOME OBJECTIVE TEST MATERIAL

Norman T. Pratt, Jr.
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THE SPECIMEN questions given below are part of an examination set for the 1947 Indiana State Latin Contest. This examination was taken by students of Vergil in local districts as a "qualifying round" for the final competition. Since the papers were corrected by different teachers in the various districts, the test was designed to be largely of an objective nature. The questions may be of some particular interest for teachers of Vergil. But they are interesting primarily because they raise certain questions concerning the problem of objective testing and the quality of the objective tests now on the market.

There is, of course, a real need for standardized marketed tests for the purposes of placement and of measuring achievement. But even after years of developing such tests, the current lot runs miserably below a standard which is within easy reach. For example, Indiana University is considering a plan to hold placement tests in the foreign languages for entering students; yet there is to my knowledge no really adequate marketed Latin test for that purpose, if "adequate" be defined simply to mean sound testing of important materials.

Admittedly, any one who has tried to formulate an objective test which can be corrected by machines or clerks is inevitably driven to recognize that certain deficiencies are inherent in the techniques of objective

testing. Objective techniques simply can not test adequately such fundamental capacities as the organization of knowledge or the exercise of critical judgment. But even within the natural limitations of objective techniques, the current lot of marketed tests shows poor performance.

Consider the question of testing vocabulary. The usual answer is to give a list of Latin words followed by several English words, in the multiple-choice format, from which the student is to select the "proper" English meaning for the Latin word. This procedure is followed, for example, in the *Cooperative Latin Tests* which are about as good as any current tests. Now in the method by which foreign languages are usually taught, unfortunately it is inevitable that the Latin word be equated with some one or two English meanings in the learning of vocabulary. But every teacher knows that the development of skill in translation, that is, the transfer of thought expressed in Latin to thought expressed in English, depends largely upon getting away from this mechanical equation of word with word. A whole context must be understood. This is the real intellectual value of the process of translation.

Of course there is nothing new about this. But if it is true, why persist in a testing technique which forces the student into this mechanical mode of thinking? Even in the objective test, vocabulary can be tested in context.

In fact, the questions can even be designed in such a way as to lead the student away from the mechanical equating of words by showing that the "accepted" meaning of a Latin word is in certain contexts not the precise meaning. It will not be possible to cover so many items in the same amount of time, for the simple reason that the student is led to think about the meanings of words in a context of thought. But the use of this procedure is very economical, for it tests not only vocabulary-control. It also tests knowledge of forms and comes as close as an objective question can to discovering whether the student can really translate the passage, that is, not merely get the gist of the passage and pick out a few facts from it, but actually translate the passage intelligently.

These Vergil questions were designed for a particular purpose and are somewhat more involved than questions which would normally be used. However, they will serve to illustrate the potentiality of this technique which can be adapted to any particular purpose.

QUESTIONS

BELOW are four passages from the *Aeneid*. In each passage certain Latin words are italicized. In the blanks before the words listed below, write the number of the English word or phrase which best translates each of the italicized Latin words as they are used in the passages.

Primus ibi ante omnis, magna comitante *caterva*,
Laocoön *ardens summa* decurrit ab arce,
et procul: 'O miseri, *quae* tanta insania, cives?
Creditis avectos hostis, aut ulla putatis
dona *carere* dolis Danaum? Sic notus Ulixes?
Aut hoc inclusi ligno occultantur *Achivi*,
aut haec in nostros fabricata est machina muros,
inspectura domos venturaque desuper urbi,
aut aliquis latet *error*; equo ne credite, Teucri.
Quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentis.'

1. — *caterva*—1. cloak; 2. throng; 3. army; 4. confusion.
2. — *ardens*—1. loving; 2. glittering; 3. hating; 4. blazing.
3. — *summa*—1. top of; 2. total; 3. bottom of; 4. highest.
4. — *quae*—1. what; 2. which; 3. why; 4. who.
5. — *Creditis*—1. do you entrust; 2. do you

- believe; 3. do you grant; 4. do you risk.
6. — *carere*—1. are superior; 2. are suspicious; 3. are without; 4. possess.
7. — *Achivi*—1. Trojans; 2. Greeks; 3. Persians; 4. Romans.
8. — *in*—1. against; 2. among; 3. in; 4. into.
9. — *inspectura*—1. to be seen; 2. about to inspect; 3. to spy into; 4. having been seen.
10. — *error*—1. mistake; 2. wandering; 3. madness; 4. trick.
11. — *et*—1. also; 2. and; 3. likewise; 4. even.

Cui mater *media* sese tulit *obvia* silva,
virginis os habitumque *gerens* et virginis arma,
Spartanae, vel qualis equos Threissa fatigat
Harpalyce, volucrumque fuga *praevertitur* Hebrum,

namque umeris de more *abilem* *suspenderat* arcum
venatrix, dederatque comam *diffundere* ventis,
nuda genu, nodoque *sinus* collecta fluentis.

12. — *media*—1. between; 2. middle; 3. in the middle of; 4. moderate.
13. — *obvia*—1. to meet; 2. obvious; 3. exposed to; 4. turned to.
14. — *os*—1. bones; 2. face; 3. speech; 4. clothes.
15. — *gerens*—1. with; 2. waging; 3. carrying; 4. performing.
16. — *praevertitur*—1. is turned before; 2. is surpassed; 3. outstrips; 4. averts.
17. — *abilem*—1. polished; 2. bright; 3. easy; 4. light.
18. — *suspenderat*—1. hung; 2. had hung; 3. would have hung; 4. hanging.
19. — *diffundere*—1. to pour out; 2. to arrange; 3. to shed; 4. to blow.
20. — *sinus*—1. arms; 2. bays; 3. edges; 4. folds.

Hoc primum in *luc*o nova res *oblata* timorem
leniit, hic primum Aeneas sperare salutem
ausus et *adflctis* melius confidere rebus.
Namque *sub* ingenti lustrat dum singula templo,
reginam *opperiens*, dum *quae* fortuna sit urbi,
artificumque *manus intra se* operumque laborem
miratur, videt Iliacas ex ordine pugnas
bellaque iam fama totum *vulgata* per orbem,
Atridas, Priamumque, et saevum *ambobus* Achillem.

21. — *luc*o—1. time; 2. place; 3. grove; 4. light.
22. — *oblata*—1. presented; 2. sacrificed; 3. carried off; 4. unexpected.
23. — *ausus*—1. dared; 2. feared; 3. heard; 4. daring.

24. — *adfectis*—1. past; 2. future; 3. desperate; 4. present.
 25. — *sub*—1. behind; 2. toward; 3. before; 4. within.
 26. — *dum*—1. provided that; 2. while; 3. until; 4. after.
 27. — *opperiens*—1. revealing; 2. avoiding; 3. awaiting; 4. perceiving.
 28. — *manus*—1. band; 2. handicraft; 3. hands; 4. fate.
 29. — *intra se*—1. to himself; 2. among themselves; 3. in herself; 4. by them.
 30. — *ex*—1. from; 2. out of; 3. outside of; 4. in.
 31. — *pugnas*—1. fists; 2. combats; 3. walls; 4. wars.
 32. — *vulgata*—1. feared; 2. seen; 3. scorned; 4. known.
 33. — *orbem*—1. heaven; 2. country; 3. world; 4. circle.
 34. — *ambobus*—1. to both; 2. by both; 3. from both; 4. in both.
 39. — *Tyndarida*—1. Dido; 2. Helen; 3. Creusa; 4. Juno.
 40. — *clara*—1. bright; 2. famous; 3. loud; 4. hot.
 41. — *per*—1. through; 2. by; 3. over; 4. throughout.
 42. — *ferenti*—1. endure; 2. cast; 3. bear; 4. plunder.
 43. — *coniugis*—1. husband; 2. father; 3. sister; 4. wife.
 44. — *Erinyes*—1. savior; 2. avenger; 3. hope; 4. curse.
 45. — *invisa*—1. hated; 2. envied; 3. unprotected; 4. unseen.
 46. — *Exarsere*—1. blazed; 2. to blaze; 3. to subside; 4. subsided.
 47. — *cadentem*—1. murderous; 2. sinking; 3. falling; 4. dead.
 48. — *ulcisci*—1. protect; 2. avenge; 3. abandon; 4. punish.

Iamque adeo super unus eram, cum limina Vestae
 servantem et tacitam secreta in sede latentem
 Tyndarida aspicio; dant clara incendia lucem
 erranti passimque oculos per cuncta ferenti.
 Illa sibi infestos eversa ob Pergama Teucros
 et poenas Danaum et deserti coniugis iras
 praemetuens, Troiae et patriae communis Erinyes,
 abdiderat sese atque aris invisae sedebat.
 Exarsere ignes animo; subit ira cadentem
 ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas.

35. — *adeo*—1. at this time; 2. so; 3. I approach; 4. to this extent.
 36. — *super*—1. above; 2. over; 3. left; 4. in addition to.
 37. — *cum*—1. although; 2. with; 3. since; 4. when.
 38. — *servantem*—1. saving; 2. protected; 3.

KEY

1.2	17.4	33.3
2.4	18.2	34.1
3.1	19.4	35.1
4.1	20.4	36.3
5.2	21.3	37.4
6.3	22.1	38.3
7.2	23.1	39.2
8.1	24.3	40.1
9.3	25.4	41.3
10.4	26.2	42.2
11.4	27.3	43.1
12.3	28.2	44.4
13.1	29.1	45.1
14.2	30.4	46.1
15.1	31.2	47.3
16.3	32.4	48.2

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The proof of the pudding is in the sauce

Sauce for Caesar

Carolyn Bock

Northwestern State College, Natchitoches, Louisiana

BEFORE WE PREPARE a sauce, we must have the pudding. That is to say, we must campaign for the first-year Latin students. Here we encounter difficulties. There is the barrier of Latin's being hard that we must counteract; we must challenge and bury alive the not uncommon attacks and consequent adverse small talk about Latin.

That forces us to analyze the situation. Educators cannot deny that Latin has been a key which has unlocked civilizations, supplied insight on their growth and development, promoted understanding and appreciation of the cosmopolitan world, and given a universal touch and outlook to those who approached its rich storehouse—in the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the "Age of Enlightenment," and in the nineteenth century. Can there be any doubt that Latin itself can be entirely cleared of blame? Then the teacher of Latin must bear the brunt of the unfavorable criticism. Could it be that we have left the stupendous task of imparting this heritage to the passionate few who nurture the glowing spark only to have the weak teacher who makes Latin a menace to the masses smother the flame? Believing, then, that the teaching of Latin, and not the subject itself, is the Achilles' heel of prevailing circumstances, definite remedial steps may be taken to do away with inferior teaching.

With undimmed faith in Latin itself, it is up to us to meet the challenge, offer resistance to all obstacles, and campaign for the first-year students. Nor should we ignore the socialized procedure of gaining zealous followers. Let us advertise, high-pressured if need be, in technicolor if need be, but by all known and unknown schemes entice youth to taste the delectable in Latin. Once within the Roman house, they will be prisoners or guests there for two years. If the study in

the first year, the year of induction, is made thorough as well as interesting, the learning processes for the crucial second year may very well prove to issue stock in advanced classes and allow maturity in college Latin.

The pudding is prepared; the ingredients—eager youth, fundamental rules, basic knowledge, classical influences, ancient customs, language logic, and Roman atmosphere—have been thoroughly mixed together and left to settle. The summer intermission usually causes the pudding to set too long, to be sad, and even stale when it is served to the sophomores clamoring for refreshments as your party continues. Does the hostess allow herself and her function to be distasteful, dull, and boring? Is she outwitted, outmoded, outflanked by the demands and desires of modern youth? Not at all. She hastens to prepare a rich, spicy, tempting sauce to pour over her pudding, making Caesar as tasty a morsel as student ever set tooth in.

How is this done? The possibilities and contents of the sauce may be as varied as the number of Latin pedagogues in the United States. Every teacher has his own style, his own techniques, is best acquainted with the background, ability, and enthusiasm of his group. To prescribe the classroom procedure is as futile and impractical as the air castles constructed in many college education classes. The important thing is to develop interest and stimulate action and to avoid and thwart the digs of the superficially trained. Scrap the learning process for the decoration? No indeed. Teach first, last, and plenty, but devote five minutes of every period to the promotion of a genuine love and appreciation in order to cement a permanent curiosity in the Roman way of life.

Unquestionably Caesar's *Gallic War* has been reaching a new high from the standpoint

of teaching. Not since World War I has the material been so vital or applicable, and two European conflicts with which to compare the ancient battles make the task doubly facile. At no other time has correlation been more easily handled or as desirable. I noticed the difference in the comprehension of the Caesar class which I first taught, before the war, and my classes during the war years. Then it was necessary to explain at great length military terms, lines of fortification, fighting formation, and battle techniques. After much discussion one was able to enlist only passive interest and half-understanding because they were youngsters thinking in terms of pacifism. Not so today. Almost before an ancient instrument of warfare is mentioned, the parallel has been drawn in the student's mind. Capitalize on the present and make a first-class presentation of the material. The boys eat it up, and girls are not entirely untutored in what is being discussed.

Make the student feel that a good sensible coherent translation is important but that the comprehension of the material contained there is essential. The mastery of a word list is a "must," but the use of these words in translating is not enough. He must see the English counterpart, understand its usage in both languages, and make it a part of his reading, written, and spoken vocabulary. The knowledge of constructions is valuable only in that it furnishes the individual with a stream of logic and the ability to analyze and function clearly and smoothly. In other words, translation and all it embraces is not the end within itself, but only the means toward the end. It is the tool the student uses to untangle his mental maze, to produce accuracy, readability, self-assurance and to provide the incentive for a continuance of the realization of the same values.

A satisfactory translation has been rendered. Now the sauce must be applied to bring out all the good value, to add vitamins, to make Caesar nourishing and strengthening, to promote an appetite for advanced Latin.

What can contribute to the enriching qualities of Caesar? First, a good course on geography must be introduced all along the

way. A constant study of maps, a knowledge of old world and new world territories must be kept in mind. Occupied nations must be taken into consideration, natural boundaries and barriers should be noted, ancient and modern campaigns may be outlined and dated, seasons for fighting will be pointed out and compared, such as Caesar's campaigns being confined to summer due to weather conditions and Napoleon's and Hitler's failure to advance in Russia during the winter months. Attention will be called to the difficulty of fording rivers, of scaling mountain passes, of landing troops, of invading England because of her almost impenetrable coastline. Of course one would not fail to mention the chalky cliffs of Dover and that vicinity which proved such an obstacle to Caesar.

The motives and purposes for expansion on the part of aggressor nations can be brought to light; the means by which supposedly disinterested neutral peoples were drawn into the conflict can be expounded.

A study of the nations involved in the struggles can be illuminating. The character of the German people today is easily traced to the nature and traits of their forefathers. Their love for fighting, their shrewd tricky strategy, their scientific technique, and their bitter cruelty are readily identified after the information furnished by Caesar in his encounters with them. Causes may be attributed for the strength and weakness of Italy yesterday and today.

Personalities may be examined, contributing factors toward greatness set up, inherited weaknesses explained. Tactics used by outstanding generals which resulted in their success may be brought out, conditions under which they labored noted, attitudes regarding them and their plans displayed. Their versatility, their means of handling men, their foresightedness, and resourcefulness should find their place.

Students must be made to realize that Caesar is not a fictional character, a superman upon whom the gods smiled, but that his superiority was an outgrowth of a combination of qualities inherited and cultivated, inherently desirable qualities which, if prop-

erly exercised, culminate in greatness. They must also reckon that eminence is destined to meet obstacles, to be subject to defeat, but that it carries with it the power of making a comeback, of offering resistance, and putting up a good fight.

More concrete work can be done when one takes into consideration the armies, their strength, their weaknesses, their systems of fighting, their divisions, their officers, their supplies, and their campaigns. Every American boy and girl is familiar with the types of ammunition in use today. The development of the ancient weapons into modern ones is an interesting and informative study. Youngsters are familiar with the divisions of the armed branches of the service, their insignia, their duties, their pay. A comparison with their ancient counterparts surely adds interest to the latter. Plundering and the collection of booty certainly becomes more meaningful after one has seen today's trophies. The burning of towns, fields, and storehouses—the "scorched earth" policy—to prevent the enemy's getting possession of them has a familiar ring.

The training, the dress, the camp life of the soldiers can certainly be brought home and similar trends recognized in all. Induction, draft dodgers, prisoners of war, shortages of foodstuff, rehabilitation are no new terms to us but speak from the pages of Caesar.

A comprehension of the military wit and slang practiced among Caesar's soldiers points up the military expressions found in our newspapers and heard over our radios.

As for actions, the offensive and defensive methods used by belligerent nations, the techniques of attacking cities, of fighting in the open, on land and on the sea, the shrewd devices, the hidden-ball tricks, the maneuvering of the various armies form an excellent background for following intelligently the course of action today. One inescapably notices that modern tank traps and barbed wire entanglements and obstacle courses have their counterpart in the splendid siege works at Alesia.

A study of the position of the conquered would certainly prove interesting at appropriate points in the narrative. Likewise, con-

sider the response of the suppressed nations. The exchange of hostages sounds a familiar note and had been a common custom among all nations throughout history.

The steady stream of ambassadors who come to speak with authority concerning settlement by arbitration is not unheard of. As the Britons came to the mainland to seek peace from Caesar and then immediately made war on him, so do we have memories of a similar bitter experience. Leaders are summoned and councils are called together [as did Caesar by means of the ablative absolute!] to discuss peace terms and post-war plans. With as much discord and dissension the solution has never proved successful. In every peace, the seeds of another suicide of universal proportions have thus been planted.

Serve Caesar with a sauce of projects, maps, notebooks, plays, festivals, illustrated lectures, puzzles, jokes, stunts, radio broadcasts, slides, bulletin board, and by every possible device that provides a positive reaction. The Latin Club is a good means of stimulation. For suggestions for enhancing classroom work, the conducting of related investigations, and planning club programs, no better sources can be found or better material shared than through our own *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, *Classical Outlook*, and American Classical League Service Bureau. Their material is contemporary, adaptable, practical, inexpensive, accessible, accurate, and popular. I am convinced that great will be your returns and pleasant the experiences that come from an expended and enriched second year course.

Let us remember that although Latin is great in itself, we are far more conscious of this than the adolescents who sit at our feet. If we are to pave the way for a healthy, hungry interest in advanced Latin, realizing that the second year is the stepping stone, the year of decision—to be or not to be swept on by the tide of enlightenment, culture, and intellectual refinement; if we are to fulfill our obligation to our college and university colleagues, I insist that we must serve a tasty sauce which the Caesar student not only chews, but swallows, digests, and relishes.

Check List of Recent Books

Compiled by Lionel Casson and George A. Tanitelli, and including books received at the Editorial Office.

I. ANCIENT AUTHORS

- Ammianus Marcellinus*. E. A. THOMPSON. The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus. 145 pages. Cambridge University Press Book: Macmillan, New York. 1947. \$2.50.
- Aristotle*. F. VAN STEENBERGHEN. *Aristote en Occident*. 200 pages. Editions Universitaires, Paris. 180 fr.
- Lucretius*. A. ERNOUT. *Lucrèce*. Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," Paris. 1947. 100 fr.
- Philo Judaeus*. Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Ed. by HARRY AUSTRYN WOLFSON. 2 volumes. 478, 545 pages. Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 1947. \$10.
- Plato*. J. BIDEZ. *Eos ou Platon et l'Orient*. Guethner, Paris. 1947. 600 fr.
- Plato*. SOMONE PETREMENT. *Le dualism chez Platon*. 356 pages. Université de France. 1947. 350 fr.
- Seneca*. SÉNÈQUE. *Lettres à Lucilius*. Tr. by H. NOBLOT. Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," Paris. 1947. 185 fr.
- Sophocles*. J. T. SHEPPARD. *The Wisdom of Sophocles*. 76 pages. Macmillan, New York. 1947. \$1.50. (The Interpreter Series, 5.)
- Thucydides*. JACQUELINE DE ROMILLY. *Thucydide et l'imperialism athénien*. 326 pages. Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," Paris. 1947. 700 fr.
- Vergil*. FRANÇOIS AUMARÈS. *Virgile, journaliste*. Du Courrier, Paris. 1947. 300 fr.
- Vergil*. JEAN GIONO. *Virgile*. Corrèa, Paris. 1947. 195 fr.
- Vergil*. L. A. S. JERMYN. *The Singing Farmer, a Translation of Vergil's Georgics*. xi+133 pages. Blackwell, Oxford. 1947. 12/6d.

2. LITERARY HISTORY AND CRITICISM

- FITTS, DUDLY (ed.). *Greek Plays in Modern Translation*. 596 pages. Dial Press, New York. 1947. \$5.
- HUMBERT, J., and H. BERGUIN. *Histoire de la littérature grecque*. Didier, Paris. 1947. 410 fr.

4. HISTORY AND SOCIAL STUDIES

- CAVAIGNAC, E. *Histoire générale de l'antiquité*. Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," Paris. 1947. 320 fr.
- DORJAHN, ALFRED P. *Political Forgiveness in Old Athens*. 56 pages. Northwestern University, Evanston. 1946. \$1.50. (Northwestern University Studies in the Humanities, 13.)
- FEUTIGIÈRE, A.-J. *La Grec et la Nature*. Éditions d'histoire et d'art, Paris. 1947. 140 fr.

GROSE-HODGE, HUMFREY. *Roman Panorama*. xviii+260 pages. Cambridge University Press, Macmillan, New York. 1947. \$2.88.

HASKELL, H. J. *The New Deal in Old Rome* (2d ed., rev.). xii+258 pages, index. Knopf, New York. 1947. \$3.50.

FIGANIOL, ANDRÉ. *Histoire romaine. L'empire chrétien*. 448 pages. Université de France. 1947. 350 fr. (Histoire générale Glotz.)

REYNOLD, GONZAGUE DE. *La formation de l'Europe*. Tome I: Qu'est-ce que l'Europe. Tome II: Le monde grec et sa pensée. Tome III: L'hellénisme et le génie européen. Tome IV: L'empire romain. 276, 390, 390, 276 pages. Université de France. 1947. 260, 340, 360, 300 fr.

SWIFT, FLETCHER HARPER. *The Athenian Ephebic Oath of Allegiance in American Schools and Colleges*. 34 pages. University of California Press, Berkeley. 1947. \$0.50. (University of California Publications in Education, 11. 1.)

WALBANK, F. W. *Decline of the Roman Empire in the West*. 97 pages. Cobbett Press, London. 1947. 7s. 6d.

5. PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, MYTHOLOGY

BONNARD, ANDRÉ. *Les dieux de la Grèce*. 330 pages, 40 plates. Mermod-Julliard, Paris. 1947. 750 fr.

6. ARCHAEOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY

CONTENAU, G. *Manuel d'archéologie orientale depuis les origines jusqu'à l'époque d'Alexandre*. 692 pages, 337 figures, 17 maps. A.-J. Picard, Paris. 1947. 1250 fr. (Manuels d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art.)

SCHLUMBERGER, J., F. CHALANDON, and A. BLANCHET. *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin*. 282 pages, 32 plates. Geuthner, Paris. 1947. 1500 fr.

TRELL, BLUMA L. *The Temple of Artemis at Ephesos*. 2, 71 pages, frontispiece, 28 plates. American Numismatic Society, New York. 1945. \$2. (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, 107.)

7. EPIGRAPHY, NUMISMATICS, PAPYROLOGY

AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY. *Museum Notes*, II. vi+118 pages, 19 plates. New York, 1947. \$1.50.

GIABBANI, LAURA. *Testi letterari greci di provenienza egiziana*. Calzini. 1947. 600 lire.

GRANT, MICHAEL. *From Imperium to Auctoritas. A Historical Study of Aes Coinage in the Roman Empire 49 B.C.-A.D. 14*. Cambridge University Press, Macmillan, New York. 1947.

MERLIN, ALFRED. *L'année épigraphique, année 1946*. 88 pages. Université de France. 1947. 160 fr.

9. HISTORY OF ART

ANTI, CARLO. *Teatri greci arcaici*. 337 pages. Le Tre Venezie, Padua. 1947.

BRILLING, HAROLD. *Images classiques*. 128 plates. Champion, Paris. 1947. 240 fr.

PLEASE TURN THE PAGE

We See By the Papers

We urge all our readers to appoint themselves special clipping bureaus for this department, and to forward material to us suitably marked with the name of the periodical and the date of issue. If an item appears in a magazine that you do not wish to clip, send us the gist of the material on a penny postcard!—The Editors.

THE IDEA of building a curriculum around the Classics or a series of "great books" has become a familiar concept in the colleges, but its application to students of high-school age is newsworthy. Such a report has been sent us, culled from the *New York Herald Tribune* of September 12, 1947. For the past three summers the Rev. James H. Price, rector of the Church of St. James the Less in Scarsdale, New York, has been conducting a seminar of reading and discussion based on Plato, Aristotle, St. Augustine, Dante, Milton, and the Bible. A photograph accompanying the article shows seven students grouped about the clergyman in his home, and he reports that there were eleven in attendance throughout the summer. Some sample testimonies of the participants are quoted. "Of course it's been hard, but all of us agree that, difficult as it's been, we have not alone been able to understand what we read, but have been helped in our approach to even the simplest matters of every-day living." "Our school classes in literature seem dull by comparison." "Latin was always dull and uninteresting to me. Now I'm eager for all the Latin I can get." Dr. Price explains, "I call it 'Education for Freedom,' based on a study of great examples of Western

"Recent Books" (Cont'd)

10. FICTION

BAKER, GEORGE. *Paris of Troy*. 220 pages. Ziff-Davis, New York. 1947. \$2.75.

MARCUSE, LUDWIG. *Plato and Dionysius*. Tr. by Joel Ames. 262 pages. Knopf, New York. 1947. \$3.50.

11. TEXTBOOKS

MOREUX, ABBÉ TH. *Pour comprendre le grec*. 272 pages. Dom, Paris. 1947. 147 fr.

12. MISCELLANEOUS AND UNCLASSIFIED

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, 46-47. 260 pages. Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 1947. \$4.

thought. It sounds deep and important—which it is, until familiarity is gained; then classical thought becomes as much a part of an individual as his speech. It is my belief that pre-college years offer a wonderful opportunity to condition the mind for what lies ahead."

PROFESSOR CLARENCE Forbes of the University of Nebraska has contributed a clipping from the *Southeastern Nebraska Register* which indicates that Russian high schools are to teach Latin in 1948, for the first time since the revolution.

THE OCTOBER 6 issue of *LIFE* presents in a 'pictorial essay' the letters of Franklin D. Roosevelt preserved from his boyhood and recently released for publication. Among the letters written from Groton we note traces of his training in Latin and Greek. "It is raining here today and it is our hardest study day in the whole week as we have two periods of latin, two at Greek and three at Algebra." Another letter is signed with his name spelled phonetically in Greek letters, *Υφανκλιν Δελαρω Ρωσενέλτ*, and underneath in parentheses, "Papa can read this!" As the editorial caption observes, "Papa may have noted that he made some mistakes."

FOUR REVIEWS in recent issues of the weekly book review section of the *New York Herald Tribune* remind us that the Classics, when attractively presented, are not without interest to the general reading public. One or more columns are devoted to each of the following books: *Greek Plays in Modern Translation* edited by Dudley Fitts presents eleven tragedies, including W. B. Yeats' "King Oedipus," Richard Lattimore's "Agamemnon," Edith Hamilton's "Prometheus Bound," Francis Fergusson's "Electra," and Frederick Prokosch's "Medea." *Greek Studies* by Gilbert Murray is a collection of the author's lectures delivered at Oxford and Cambridge and elsewhere between 1913 and 1941. *Horace: a Biography* by Henry Dwight Sedgwick and *Horace: a Portrait* by Alfred Noyes are appreciative accounts, in the latter of which a poet pays tribute to a master poet: "There is not a writer in the world who does not owe an immense debt to his predecessors; and the bigger the writer, the bigger the debt."

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 189

BOOK REVIEWS

TEXT OF ATHANASIUS

RYAN, GEORGE J., *The De Incarnatione of Athanasius, Part 1, The Long Recension Manuscripts*, Studies and Documents xiv; London, Christophers (1945) Pp. xi+125.

IN THE *De Incarnatione* Athanasius explains how the Incarnation was morally necessary in order that man might be redeemed, and might have restored to him the knowledge of God along with lost immortality. Athanasius hence was the first who treated in any detail the reasons for the Incarnation. Most of the Greek Fathers after him adopted the ideas contained in this strictly classical, although youthful composition. For these important reasons, then, scholars will welcome studies on the manuscript tradition which must precede a critical edition.

Two recensions of the *De Incarnatione* are known. Interestingly enough, the editors of the series *Studies and Documents*, in which Ryan's monograph on the Long Recension manuscripts appears, and in which a monograph on the Short Recension manuscripts by R. P. Casey is soon to be published, maintain, in the Preface (p. vii) "that the Short Recension must have been the earlier, in spite of the authors' [Ryan and Casey] able presentation of textual evidence to the contrary" (cf. p. 27). A familiar controversy exists, then, whose solution, if one is possible, one may await a number of years.

Several aspects of the author's approach commend themselves immediately to the reader. In a valuable chapter (II) on the history of previous investigations, he has gleaned all of value from preceding studies of the manuscripts of the Athanasian corpora, frequently substantiating his own conclusions (cf. pp. 12, 13, 15), frequently correcting those of earlier researchers (cf. p. 88). Equally commendable is his insistence (repeated often enough, pp. 7, 12, 18, 18, n.1) that the determination of the manuscript tradition rests primarily on the collations of the *De Incar-*

natione itself, and not on the arrangement or number of the treatises in the corpora. "No reliable conclusions can be established regarding the relationship of the various corpora, before the texts of the great majority of the treatises contained in these corpora have been thoroughly examined and compared" (p. 12). Any other approach could hardly procure definitive results.

The variants upon which the separation into groups and the interdependence of manuscripts are based are on the whole well-chosen and cogent. Handy, too, for the text critic is the collation of the manuscripts with the text by Robertson (pp. 101-125). One regrets that the appearance in two separate monographs of the manuscript studies of the Long and Short Recension necessitates leaving a reproduction of the text by Robertson to the second, not yet published.

Important for the Athanasian scholar are the conclusions that the Short Recension generally indicates what Long Recension reading is genuine (p. 27), that α manuscripts are more trustworthy than those of the β group (p. 50), and that S of α (about which Opitz drew a number of erroneous conclusions) is the only pure and uncontaminated witness to the α text, while T and W best represent the β text (p. 50 f.).

Possibly there might be somewhat fuller descriptions of the manuscripts (p. xi). R appears in the list of manuscripts, but the information that it does not contain the *De Incarnatione* Ryan reserves to a footnote (p. 5, n. 3). Manuscript b¹ appears in the list also, but only through an indirect reference on p. 6, n. 9, do we find on p. 64, n. 37, an explicit statement that it was not collated for the study. Meantime one is puzzled to find it omitted in the listings of β manuscripts on pp. 15, 28, 29, 50, 51, but included in the stemma on p. x. On p. 13, n. 63, Ryan gives no reason why manuscript m was not collated.

Perusing the monograph, slowly enough through intricate analysis, one finds himself hindered now and then by exponent numerals of the same point type, serving both as sigla and as references to footnotes.

A Syriac version is mentioned on p. 40 for the first time, later on p. 44, but the author has presumed that the reader knows what and where it is, for he does not enlarge upon it. One notes that a bibliography is lacking and that the citation of periodicals is not always uniform. The patristic scholar will recognize immediately what publications are indicated

by T. u. U, Z. N. W., and J. T. S., but a bibliography would have handled the matter.

But such are small and relatively unimportant things in a study which investigates involved and elusive problems of manuscript tradition, doubly trying in the presence of two recensions. The monograph must and can render its author the satisfaction that a step forward has been made over difficult terrain, even though it falls to others to reap the full fruits.

LEO M. KAISER

St. Louis University

HUMANITIES IN CANADA

KIRKCONNELL, WATSON, and WOODHOUSE, A. S. P., *The Humanities in Canada*: Ottawa (166 Marlborough Ave.), Ontario, Humanities Research Council of Canada (1947). Pp. 287. \$2.00.

THIS REPORT of a survey of "the state of the humanities in Canada," begun in the autumn of 1944 by the Humanities Research Council of Canada and supported generously by the Rockefeller Foundation, impresses the reader to the south of the border as a rehearsal of much that is familiar; the same social and economic forces that have affected American education are not unnaturally active in Canada. At the same time, one sees a reflection of the conservatism that is characteristic of Canada, an attitude that is sometimes the result of a desire to consider carefully what is to be done and sometimes merely the result of a desire not to do anything. However, what one admires particularly in this study is the organization of a systematic survey of the teaching of the humanities, so that Canadians may have an over-all view of how the humanities stand on a national basis.

How does high-school Latin stand? The figures by provinces reflect much the same trends as in the United States, with the exception of Ontario (noted in Canada for its conservatism), where, in 1943, 54% of high-school students were taking Latin. According to the report, one powerful factor in the maintenance of Latin is the requirement by most

universities of two foreign languages for entrance. The province of Alberta has the lowest registration in Latin, with 15%.

The Report, incidentally, offers evidence of a peculiar Canadian problem that threatens from time to time to become a political issue of considerable magnitude: the flight of trained and skilled personnel to the United States. The Report points out that of 412 Canadian-born scholars listed in the *Directory of American Scholars*, 204 are teaching in the United States. The report also alludes somewhat regretfully to the difficulties of carrying on productive research and publication under conditions prevalent in Canadian universities.

Considerable space is devoted to a review of the honours courses at the University of Toronto which, in American terms, would be "concentrated majors" beginning in the freshman year and ending in the senior year at a point somewhat above the first year of graduate work in an American university. The Report adds that the examinations in honours courses are probably more rigorous than those found in graduate schools. In Classics "the series of texts covered is impressive and the grounding in the classical languages given is probably as thorough as in any undergraduate course outside of Great Britain. Its aim is to make scholars, and provide . . . thinkers with a classical background, . . . a necessary part of any modern culture." (P. 62)

So far as one can judge from the Report, "General Education" has not yet become a by-word in Canada, nor have the Great Books been widely revealed in canonical form (because they have not been forgotten, one suspects). However, the Report indicates that the general course, the introductory-to-something course, and the survey course, are well established. Almost every Canadian university has something of this sort in operation or under advisement. In this connection, the Report wisely remarks:

"The chief defects of the survey [course] in general are its tendency to present the young student with far more material than he can assimilate, to throw him back upon secondary sources, and to oblige him to accept patterns and evaluations which he has little opportunity of criticising and verifying. But the survey course has its function as an instrumental study; it is like the perusal of a map, no substitute for travel, but a useful prelude to it and capable of stimulating interest in the regions to be visited. To reject the survey course out of hand is just as absurd as to expect it to work miracles. 'There is superstition in avoiding superstition,' as Bacon acutely remarked."

No conspectus of education in Canada would be complete without reference to the *collèges classiques* of the French-speaking population. The student in these colleges is living almost in a different age, compared to his English-speaking contemporaries, so successfully has French Catholic culture resisted *anglo-saxonisation*. There the classical languages and philosophy remain supreme. In 1943, when there were only a few hundred students taking Greek in the rest of Canada, in the *collèges classiques* there were over 12,000 students taking four years of Greek (and six years of Latin). On the other hand, as the Report points out, in the prairie provinces of Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan, Greek is all but extinct. When one considers the distinguished bilingual citizens that Quebec has given Canada, such as Sir Wilfred Laurier and M. St-Laurent (currently mentioned as Mackenzie King's successor as Liberal leader), it gives, as one may say, to think.

N.J.D.

"WE SEE BY THE PAPERS"

(Continued from Page 186)

THE BUSINESS of organized baby-sitting seems to have established itself firmly in the mores American, and Latin teachers may note with pride that one of its more enterprising organizers is Mary A. Ackerman, Latin teacher and Dean of the high school in Madison, New Jersey. The story is told, with pictures, in October's *American Magazine*.

and harmony and their attainment of ideal beauty. These concepts, Ivins says, do not stand the tests of logical definition and examination in the light of history, and they contribute to the "descriptive fallacy," whereby critics seem to be wise about art when they are merely expressing meaningless generalities. (Classicists may be expected to react, with either delighted agreement or furious disagreement.)

IN TWO ARTICLES appearing in *Harper's Magazine* for August and September, W. M. Ivins, Jr., former curator of prints of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, ruthlessly exposes some prevalent fallacies about art, a number of which are expressly attributed to historians of Greek art and classical archaeologists. He blames the Greeks and their idolaters for the "fallacy of the Golden Age" and traces the "fallacy of the essential and the permanent" to Winckelmann's *History of Ancient Art*. Most devastating of all is his ridicule of the Greeks' alleged love of order, proportion,

THE LONDON *Times Literary Supplement* of September 6, 1947, has an editorial entitled "The New Pedantry," occasioned by the recently published *Book of Quotations*. Many extracts illustrate "the difference between scholarship and book-learning, between facts and the understanding of them." For example, this comment on a botanist:

"A primrose by a river's brim
"A *dicotyledon* was to him
"And it was nothing more."

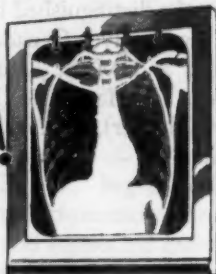
The point of the article is that pedantry has become a profession. "From Germany and America the vanity of prefixing 'Doctor' or 'Professor' to a surname and some letters after it has crept into Britain."

There is reference to an advertisement of a lectureship in Greek and Roman History requiring "(1) B.A. (Hons.) in Ancient History and Ph.D. or M.A. (Hons.); (2) some years' teaching experience; (3) Publications in Ancient History." The writer notes, in brief: "An impetus to professional pedantry is the modern deification of facts. . . . To know how many, who did it, when and where is considered omniscience. . . . The time may come when some inaccuracy will be tolerated provided it is accompanied by observation and honest opinion. If readers, too, will rely on their own judgment instead of on the opinions

of experts, creative work may flower again in abundance. For one thing is certain—to-day good books are being ousted by books about books."

FROM A BRITISH M.P. speaking in Iowa comes a view of the problem of general education as he sees it in England. Kenneth Lindsay is reported in the *Daily Iowan* of October 21 as being concerned over a university program designed to train only for trades and professions. Without provision for liberal education, he poses, "how many little Shelleys and Keats are you going to kill?" He described a plan for British education which would make schooling compulsory until the age of 16 and provide two years of additional study linked with an apprenticeship. This plan is proposed because it is considered impracticable to keep people from productive labor until the age of 20 or 22. He points out that 3,500 new teachers in England are already teaching after only one year's training.

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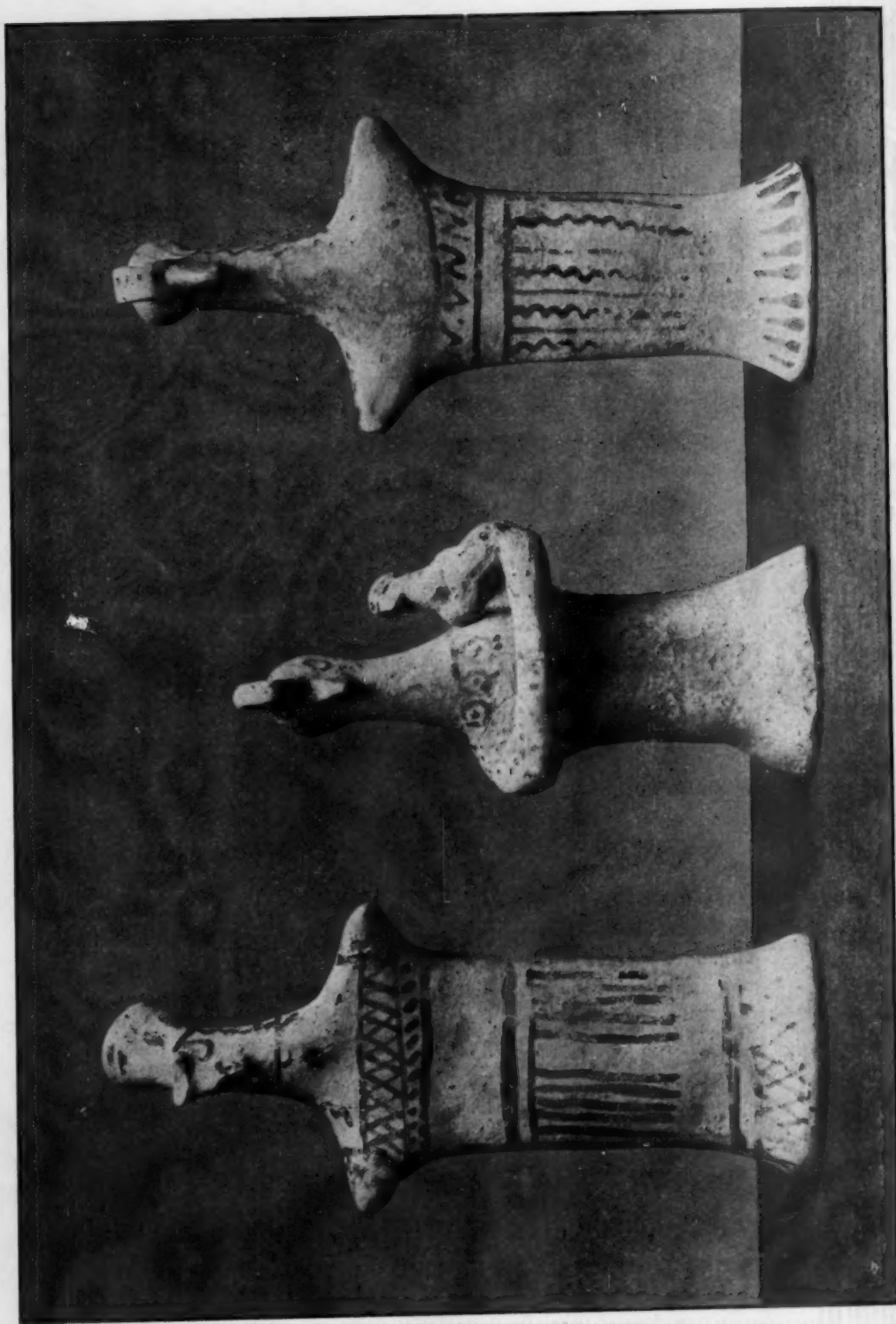
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